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THE EDITORS

CHARACTER THROUGH
CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

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CHARACTER THROUGH CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

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TO
MY CHILDREN

PREFACE

In no respect is modern education more truly following its best historic tradition, both in theory and practice, than in the emphasis which it is placing at the present moment upon character values. Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Locke—to mention but a few of the outstanding educational reformers—have bequeathed to education an unbroken tradition of emphasis upon the moral and spiritual objectives of education.

There is no more significant trend in current education than the nation-wide movement of character education. Interestingly enough, this trend has developed alongside of the scientific movement in education, though much more recently. The scientific trend that has characterized education during the present century has sought to reduce education to a precise and controlled process through the utilization of the findings and techniques of the psychological and social sciences. Increasingly research and experimentation are yielding valid techniques for carrying on the various processes of education. But with the increasing number and refinements of techniques there has been of late a growing conviction that there needs to be a fresh examination of the objectives of education in the light of the new demands of life in a complex and rapidly changing modern world.

Such a reassessment of the objectives of education raises anew the problem of the ultimate values of our modern life against the complex scientific, industrial, and democratic backgrounds of our contemporary civiliza-

tion. The almost unbelievable advance in scientific knowledge and the technology of an industrial régime has for a time, as might be expected, partially obscured our moral and spiritual values. A deepening conviction is growing among the responsible leaders of society that in spite of its increasing efficiency in the matter of techniques education is seriously defective at its most vital point—in its sense of moral and spiritual values. Without these values that lie at the heart of the objectives of education, techniques lose their relevancy. It is with reference to the objectives which they serve as means toward ends that techniques derive their significance. Education cannot, any more than civilization itself, live by techniques alone.

And since techniques are only significant in their relation to the objectives which they are designed to attain, a reassessment of the ultimate values of education will necessitate, in turn, a fresh evaluation of the techniques that are employed for the achievement of these values. With this in mind, the present discussion is directed toward a consideration of both these items—toward the objectives of education in terms of the achievement of an intelligent and effective moral personality and toward the techniques that are involved in creative experience.

The author has been at pains to point out the extremely complex process involved in character education. Many factors are involved, each operating in its characteristic manner. No complete program of character education can fail to take account of all these factors, both in their characteristic modes of operation and in their interaction with each other. Each of these factors, such as the physico-chemical functioning of the endo-

crine glands, constitutes a field for elaborate investigation in itself and carries with it a body of techniques for dealing with its functioning. The same is true regarding the social and the psychiatric factors. Without overlooking or neglecting the importance of any of these factors in the achievement of personality, the present discussion has been limited to the creative aspects of experience within which are operative the factors of intelligence, reflective thinking, evaluation, and the capacity of human beings to form and execute purposes. While it is assumed that these factors operate on the higher levels of the distinctively human capacities, any program of character education that neglects the physico-chemical, reflexive, and social factors in the determination of personality would be superficial and narrow indeed. While each group of factors can be considered separately and techniques appropriate to it can be devised, a complete procedure in education for character will integrate all of them into a many-sided approach. Creative experience, working at the conscious reflective and purposive level, will include all the factors as aspects of the situations with which it deals.

Whatever the suitability of the techniques of creative experience for other aspects of education, in which the author whole-heartedly believes, it would seem obvious that its techniques are particularly applicable to character education. It is the very essence of character that it should be inner, self-chosen, and the progressive realization of values that are in process of being transmuted into integrating, organizing, and motivating life-purposes. Character education at the present stage of its development finds itself in the position of borrowing, for the

most part, traditional techniques that have been devised for the transmission of subject matter and the development of skills. It would seem of the greatest importance that character education, while utilizing all the experience available in other fields, should evolve its own technique based upon a direct analysis of the factors involved in the achievement of moral and spiritual personality.

In the present discussion, the author has further elaborated certain assumptions dealt with in his earlier writing and has carried the implication of these assumptions farther into the field of technique as distinguished from content.

The author is indebted to the *Journal of Religion* for permission to reprint, with slight modifications, an article which appeared in the November, 1929, issue under the title, "Education through Creative Experience." Also to *Religious Education* for permission to draw freely from an article entitled "The Significance for Religious Education of Trends in the Psychology of Religion," in the issue of January, 1928, and to the *Bulletin of the Department of Elementary School Principals* for permission to draw from an article on "Character Education through Creative Pupil Experience" in the July, 1929, issue. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Theodore G. Soares and Dean Shailer Mathews for valuable criticisms and suggestions, and to Mrs. Bower for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript. By no means is he least under obligation to his students in the University of Chicago who, through co-operative thinking, have worked through with him in his classes many of the ideas contained in this book.

W. C. B.

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AS CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

The manner in which education shall be conceived depends upon the ends which it seeks to achieve. An assessment of current techniques or the elaboration of new techniques depends upon what the technique is designed to accomplish. This throws the educator back upon his fundamental conceptions as to the purposes which education is designed to serve and upon his assumptions as to the nature of the educative process. Among these conceptions and assumptions there is wide variation in current education and a reaching out experimentally after more adequate procedures for the attainment of objectives that better fit the needs of our rapidly changing modern life. Particularly is character education increasingly aware of the limitations of traditional techniques and of the imperious need of more adequate ways of discovering and achieving values that are in process of creation in our ongoing personal and social experience.

THE END SOUGHT THE BASIC DETERMINANT OF TECHNIQUE

The basic determinant in the formulation of a technique in any practical process is the end sought. Technique, like content, is an instrument for the accomplishment of purposeful ends. Once the end is set up, its character as end determines the character of the technique to be employed as means. In this way end, materials, and

technique are inseparably bound together in an undifferentiated process of purposeful activity.

The artist has a technique that is different from that of any other worker. Moreover, the technique of any particular artist is not the technique of art in general, but a very specific technique for a very specific form of art. The painter works with certain materials in a certain manner so as to produce a picture. The sculptor works with very different materials and with a very different technique in order to produce a statue. The musician works with still different materials and with a still different technique, while the technique of the violinist differs widely from that of the pianist. So also the surgeon has a particular technique for performing different types of operations, as the physician has for diagnosing and treating different forms of disease. So also the architect has for designing structures, the lawyer for preparing and presenting cases, the agriculturist for raising various crops, and the engineer for undertaking various types of engineering projects.

It is precisely the same with education. The educator has certain ends which he is seeking to realize, certain materials with which he works, and certain procedures which he employs. He works with human beings. He seeks to bring about certain results in the knowledge, the skills, or the attitudes and motives of these persons. In order to accomplish these ends he employs certain materials, which he designates as the curriculum, and certain procedures, which he designates as method. His conception of the nature of education will depend primarily upon the ends he seeks to accomplish. These ends will also determine for him what shall constitute the content of the

process (curriculum) and his technique (method). The first step, therefore, in the determination of both content and procedure is to inquire as to the ends which the educator seeks to achieve in dealing with growing human beings.

DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS IN EDUCATION

A cursory survey of the theory and practice of current education discloses the fact that there are widely variant views among educators as to what results education should seek to attain in growing persons. There is, consequently, an equally wide variety of views as to what should constitute the curriculum of education. There is a corresponding difference of viewpoint as to what the techniques of education should be.¹

A period of transition.—In a process as complex as education there have been variations in ideals and procedures in any given period, at least above the historical levels of primitive peoples. These variations have been especially pronounced in all periods of social and intellectual change, as in the period following colonization in Greece and during the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe. The wide difference in theory and practice in current education is due to the fact that modern society is passing through a period of transition in which its outlook upon life, its values, and its social and intellectual structures are undergoing fundamental reconstruction. As has always happened in similar historical situations, current education is undergoing a no less fundamental re-

¹ The present discussion is limited to current conceptions of education. The author has developed the historical conceptions in his *Curriculum of Religious Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).

construction. There is widespread dissatisfaction with many of the traditional forms of education that have been inherited from older views of life and the world. There is an outreach after more fruitful ways of accomplishing the newer ends that modern education is coming to feel are essential to the intelligent ordering of personal and social life under the complex and rapidly changing conditions of modern culture.

Consequently, there exist side by side in current education widely different ideas concerning the personal and social values which education should seek to attain, together with equally different concepts of the educational process itself and of the ways by which it shall proceed to accomplish its ends. In some important aspects these purposes and concepts are in radical conflict. And, as is to be expected in a period of transition, these conflicting ideas are strangely mixed in the theory and practice of not a few educationists.

An experimental attitude necessary.—During such a period of transition it is impossible to expect to find *the* technique by which education seeks to accomplish its ends, either in general education or in character education. Neither is it desirable to attempt to formulate *one* technique. Such periods of transition as that through which society is now passing offer the most favorable situations for rethinking the entire process of education through a criticism of its ends and techniques in the light of the new values that are emergent within the current of present personal and social experience. Such a period calls for open-mindedness, for evaluation, and for an experimental attitude that is not afraid to venture in untried ways. The best procedures for our time will be the

result of tested experience under widely varying conditions over considerable periods of time.

Different procedures for different types of education.—Moreover, as in the techniques of the artist, different techniques will need to be sought for the various aspects of the educative process. Education is too complex a process to be dealt with in its total aspect. It needs to be broken up into its specific ends and procedures. Certain aspects of education have to do with the acquisition of the fundamental skills necessary to one's taking his place in any social group, such as language, as the instrument for communication and record, and mathematics, for dealing with the quantitative aspects of one's experience. Certain aspects of education have to do with the initiation of the young into the cultural inheritance of the race and with their appreciation and command of the values that are resident therein. Another aspect has to do with one's initiation into the ideals, the materials, and the processes of vocational pursuits. Still another aspect has to do with the discovery and utilization of the personal and social values that are essential to moral and idealistic living. Within the larger patterns of vital education, each of these aspects demands its own specific formulation of ends and procedures. And each aspect must formulate its own procedures in the light of analysis and experimentation with reference to its own specific ends and values. Thus education for moral personality needs to consider the specific values it seeks to achieve and to devise its techniques in accord with these ends as distinguished, let us say, from acquiring the abilities of language or of calculation.

CURRENT CONCEPTS OF EDUCATION

It is possible to identify in current educational theory and practice three fundamental concepts of education. None of these concepts is sharply differentiated from the others. There is much overlapping of ideals and content. Nevertheless, they represent three distinct modes of thought.

Education as instruction.—The oldest of these modes of thought conceives of education as instruction. From this point of view the end of education is to place the learner in possession of an organized body of knowledge. This accumulated knowledge exists in the form of the great traditions of the race—scientific, literary, aesthetic, institutional (politico-social), industrial, and religious. It is the function of education to transmit these traditions from one generation to another. The test of education is the amount of knowledge acquired and the certainty of its recall. It identifies education with instruction.

This accumulated knowledge is in the custody of the adult members of society who are responsible for its effective transmission. It is organized by them into blocks of subject matter under such familiar heads as “natural science,” “social science,” “psychology,” “history,” “literature,” “mathematics,” “art,” “religion,” and “ethics.” Adults determine what knowledge is of most worth, the organization of the subject matter of instruction, and the order and method of presentation. They also determine the manner in which the accuracy and thoroughness of the learner’s mastery of these blocks of subject matter shall be tested.

When education is conceived of in terms of transmitting knowledge from adults to the immature mind, the

appropriate technique is instruction. This procedure has been worked out in detail and with great skill by the Herbartians. Long usage has rendered it smooth in operation. This technique follows the well-known "five formal steps of teaching." They are the preparation of the mind of the learner for new knowledge through the calling up of old experience, the vivid and clear presentation of new knowledge, the assimilation of the new knowledge with that already in the learner's mind through association, the generalization of the new knowledge and the attachment of an appropriate symbol thereto, and the application of the newly acquired knowledge in different situations for the purposes of clarification and fixation. The functions of the mind upon which this technique rests are those of assimilation and appreciation.¹

Undoubtedly this is still the prevalent mode of education in America. In accord with the psychological assumptions which furnished the historical foundations of the technique, it is a process wrought upon the learner by forces outside himself. It weights education with tradition and renders it backward-looking. It tends to develop in the learner attitudes of acceptance of conclusions upon authority, of submission and obedience, and of uncritical acquiescence in the *status quo*. Education in America is breaking with this tradition, but the tradition is still deeply intrenched in the thought patterns and long-established habits of content-centered education.²

¹ The author has more fully developed this conception of education in his *Curriculum of Religious Education*, chap. ii.

² For the philosophy of this concept of education, cf. the writings of Herbart and Nicholas Murray Butler's *The Meaning of Education*. For an elaboration of the technique, cf. E. L. Thorndike's *Principles of Teaching* or Charles A. and Frank M. McMurry's *The Method of the Recitation*.

Education as training.—A second identifiable concept of education is that of education as training. The antecedents of this view, as far as its philosophical formulation is concerned, go back to John Locke in the late seventeenth century, though as a dominant point of view and practice it gave the pattern to education during the Middle Ages. It is not this historic form of the concept, with its faculty psychology and its doctrine of the transfer of training, that is here had in mind, however. The psychology upon which that historic form of the concept rested has been displaced by a more modern psychology and the doctrine of transfer has for the most part been abandoned. It persists only in belated survivals in American education.¹

A more recent form of the concept of education as training has a widespread and influential vogue in current education. Its basic assumption is that the primary function of education is to prepare the young to take their place effectively in adult society. From this point of view, education is predetermined by adult needs, adult standards, adult values, and adult decisions. It is a process brought about for the young and upon the young by external authority and influences.

The procedure under this conception is to analyze the functions of adult society with a view to determining what knowledge, what aptitudes, and what traits the young will need to acquire in order successfully to take their places as mature persons in an organized adult society. Once these traits have been discovered through a process analogous to job-analysis, they are organized

¹ The author has previously elaborated this point of view in his *Curriculum of Religious Education*, chap. i.

into teaching units. The traits are then reduced to trait-actions suitable to carrying them out in the functions required by adult life. A pretest before teaching is followed by a retest to ascertain whether the trait with its appropriate trait-action has been mastered by the learner.¹

This technique has more recently been carried over into the field of character education in the form of teaching ideals. The technique for determining what ideals shall be taught is through activity analysis and adult consensus. Representatives of adult society, such as teachers, parents, judges, and publicists, are asked to list the traits which in their judgment the young should acquire. These are then reduced to a manageable number for teaching purposes by organizing them into constellations around the dominant traits, such as honesty, co-operation, courage, dependability, loyalty, obedience, self-respect, and spirituality. Once activity analysis and adult consensus have determined what traits shall be taught, they may be inculcated by a "direct" method or by an "indirect" method. According to the "direct" method, instruction begins with a consideration of the traits. Chief dependence, however, is placed upon the "indirect" method. In this approach the instructor searches the experience of the learner for those situations in which the trait-action is appropriate and makes these situations the mediums for teaching the predetermined traits. The trait-action is then practiced through the technique of the conduct assignment until it is reduced

¹ For an elaboration of this philosophy of education, cf. W. W. Charters' *Curriculum Construction* and Franklin Bobbitt's *How To Make the Curriculum*. In his later writings Professor Bobbitt has abandoned the conception of education as preparation for adult life in favor of dealing directly with the learner's current experience.

to a dependable habit. A trait becomes an ideal when it has become the object of desire. One of the chief problems in this technique is to get the learner to desire the trait. Since the trait has been predetermined apart from the worthwhile, dynamic experience of the learner, and is therefore not an outgrowth of his own emerging values, resort must be had to the manipulation of the situation through attaching some sort of satisfaction to the trait, through stirring the emotions, through relating new actions to old satisfactions, through appeal to the already existing interests of the learner, and, in the last resort, through repetition under compulsion. The residual problem, after the adult predetermined traits have been selected and situations have been organized for their teaching, is, How shall the teacher get the child to do what he knows he ought to do but which he does not want to do?¹

A slightly different form of this general point of view and technique conceives education as a process of teaching habits. As in the case of traits and ideals, these habits are predetermined by adults in the light of adult needs and in accordance with adult values. A list of desirable habits is arrived at by adults. These are organized into manageable teaching units. The technique of inculcation follows the well-known laws of habit formation—readiness, exercise, satisfaction, and annoyance. Education is essentially manipulation, fashioning, molding, in accordance with adult values and judgments.²

¹ For the elaboration of this point of view and this technique, cf. W. W. Charters, *The Teaching of Ideals*.

² For a clear statement of this philosophy of education, cf. P. M. Symonds' *The Nature of Conduct*. For a technique worked out on this basis for character education, cf. Henry P. Schauffler's *Adventures in Habit Craft*.

In so far as this more recent conception of education as training makes use of life-situations in the experience of the young for the teaching of traits, ideals, and habits, it is a distinct advance over the older traditional conceptions. In that they attempt to prepare the young for effective living in adult society, the techniques of training are important gestures in the direction of relating education to life. Nevertheless, the essential patterns of this conception and its attendant techniques are cast in the molds of adult experience, adult values, and adult choices. Education is weighted with authority, tradition, and precedent. Thus far these techniques have made no adequate place for the criticism and evaluation of the *status quo*. They assume a more or less static condition in society and culture. There is no hint as to techniques for discovering the emergent values that are in process of creation in a complex and rapidly changing civilization. Least of all do they provide a technique for the progressive reconstruction of experience. They fail to take account of the essentially dynamic and creative equipment of human beings with their outreach toward desired ends, their capacity to create values of their own, and their ability to form purposes and achieve them. Education remains a process external to the growing person's vital and moving experience.

Education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience.—There is an increasing tendency in current educational theory and practice to break with these traditional conceptions of education as instruction and as training and to conceive the objectives of education in terms of the achievement of personality and of an effective social life. From this point of view education is oriented toward *persons as persons*, both in their indi-

vidual and in their group life. There is a corresponding shift of emphasis from the experience of the remote past, on the one hand, and from the experience of a remote future, on the other hand, to an ongoing and meaningful present experience. However, this focusing of attention upon current experience does not mean the disregard of past experience or the neglect of future experience. The current experience of growing persons is set in the vast framework of the past from which it is emerging and of the future toward which it is moving. The past is related to present experience as antecedent, as the future is related to it as consequent. However, the supreme moment in the development of personality is not in the past, however freighted with knowledge and achievement, or in some remote future, however weighted it may be with oncoming responsibilities, but in the living present where past and future meet and where both are in process of reconstruction.

The question to be asked at the end of any moment in the educative process is not, What has the child learned? or, What traits, ideals, and skills has he laid up as a fund against the demands of an adult living that is not yet real to him? Rather, the question to be asked is, What is this growing person becoming in his own right? Is he more discriminating and critical regarding the facts of his experience? Is he more social in his attitudes toward his fellows? Is he more appreciative of the elements of aesthetic beauty in the world about him because its values are real to him? Is he acquiring the capacity to form ethical judgments in the light of the far-reaching consequences of his acts upon his own personality and upon the social group in the light of the highest values of

personal and social living? Does he assume an increasingly spiritual attitude toward his world? Is he forming a set of values and purposes of his own that he has criticized, evaluated, organized, and accepted as the dominant ends in his quest for the more abundant life? From this point of view, *becoming* is the end as it is the process by which personality at its highest levels is achieved. The end of growth is resident within growth itself—a progressive discovery and achievement of the highest personal and social values.

According to this point of view, education is vastly more and other than something that can be determined by adults and imposed from without upon passive and receptive learners, however skilful the technique of inculcation may be. It is nothing less than *the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience*. Its techniques must be derived from the processes by which personality is achieved. It is not an operation that can be brought to pass *upon* the young. It is a process that must take place *within* growing persons and groups who are aware of what is taking place within their own experience, who assume full responsibility up to the limits of their capacity for what is coming to pass, and who, under the guidance of mature and wise counselors, are making choices and forming purposes in accord with the values which they are discovering in the life-process itself. And since, as will be pointed out in chapter iii, personality is achieved through the conscious, intelligent, and purposive reconstruction of the learner's experience by himself in accordance with self-chosen and worthwhile ends, the technique of the process will be specifically determined by the

ways in which the learner's own experience is interpreted, enriched, and controlled from within.

EDUCATION A CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

The progressive reconstruction of personal and social experience is essentially a co-operative enterprise, shared alike by adult society and the young who are undergoing education. If the traditional conceptions of education as instruction and training fall into the radical error, at one extreme, of placing all responsibility for determining the content and procedure of the educative process upon adult society, there is equal danger that educational theory and practice, in their reaction from that view, will swing to the other radical extreme of throwing all responsibility upon the learner and the learning group. As the traditional forms are for the most part molding enterprises, it would then become a following enterprise, the patterns and content being wholly set by the interests of the child. These weaknesses the earliest experiments in the child-centered school have already exhibited in considerable degree. While each of these positions has essential and permanent worth, each is equally incomplete and unsound from the viewpoint of education as a reconstructive process, when it is set in radical opposition to the other. A far sounder approach to the problem of education is to think of human life as a continuing *process*, moving from a past into an open, undetermined, and as yet uncreated future. To place undue or exclusive value upon the past is to weight the process with heredity and tradition, so that it becomes conservative, backward-looking, assimilative, and authoritative. To place exclusive value upon the present experience of the learner in

isolation from the past out of which the present has issued is to disregard the continuity of experience, to set the learner adrift in an open and uncharted world, to disregard the experience of the past in the light of which alone the present experience can derive its deepest meaning, and to discount the priceless values that have grown up out of centuries of experimenting with life.

Rather, education should find its setting in the whole process of human experience as it moves creatively out of the long and meaningful past with its accumulated insights, achievements, and values into a future that holds untold possibilities that are as yet unrealized. When education is set in this larger framework of the whole human process, its operating center becomes the present moment of personal and social experience in which the past is united with the future in a continuous process and in which alone the forces of reconstruction can work creatively for the redirecting of that process. It is in this moving center that the biological life of the race is being recreated. Any improvement of the racial stock must take place, if it is to take place at all, through the control of the factors that make for an improved organic life in the birth and rearing of the oncoming generation. It is at this same point that improvements must be made in the cultural life of the race and in its achievements. Improvements in the techniques of living, changes in the race's outlook upon the world and man, the reassessment of the meaning and values of life, the discovery and realization of new values, and fresh adventures in the various fields of achievement—all these must be undertaken in the present moment of an ongoing experience which, moving against the backgrounds of the past, takes on new

directions, forms new purposes, and undertakes fresh experiments with life.

Consequently, when viewed in this larger setting, education takes on much larger and more significant proportions than when thought of as the assimilation of knowledge or as training for adult life in its *status quo*. In the education of the child the experience of the past and the unrealized future meet. In the education of the child society is educating itself. The severest test to which the knowledge, the attitudes, the values, and the achievements of the past can possibly be put is their revaluation when used in the education of the child as the representative of the oncoming generations in whom our social outlooks, our values, and our achievements are to be expanded, reconstructed, or cast away under the imperious demands of an expanding and creative human process. A survey of the theory and practice of education through its long history discloses the fact that education has not, until very recently, brought this larger, more difficult, and creative aspect of the reconstruction of society itself into its purview. It has concerned itself all but exclusively with fashioning the immature child into traditional molds of thought and habit. But creative education, in the sense of the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience, subjects the experience of the past, the techniques of living, and the objectives of life itself to the revaluation of fresh experience as it appears concretely in the life of the child in whom the race is renewing itself and its culture.

So that, in such a setting, education becomes a sharing of adult viewpoints, values, and achievements, wrought out under the conditions of a receding past, with the on-

coming generation as it faces freshly and without the regimentation of habit and preconceptions the issues of living in a new, complex, and rapidly changing world. This view does not think of education, or even of life itself, in terms of statics, but in terms of dynamics. It assumes that, as our physical world is itself in process of continuous creation, so human experience and civilization are in process of continuous creation. The past is a record to date of the human experiment, groping its way in more or less uncertainty in its search for understanding, insight, comprehension, and some firm and reassuring sense of control. As a result of these earlier experiments, the light of understanding shines with increasing steadiness and clearness, and attempts at control are taking on increasing certitude. Through the natural sciences the race is beginning to have considerable confidence in its tested knowledge in ever enlarging areas of the physical world. Significant beginnings have been made through the psychological and social sciences and through religion in an understanding of human nature, society, and the spiritual aspects of human experience. The time has arrived when, on the firm standing-ground of these accumulated insights, education can turn its face from tradition and precedent toward the vast and uncharted terrain of the uncreated future and adopt an experimental attitude toward the values and achievements that lie undiscovered and unrealized in the shadows of that future.

A NEW TECHNIQUE REQUIRED

When education is conceived in these terms, it is obvious that a new technique is necessary. When an attempt is made to get on the inside of the process so that

education may go forward creatively in persons and groups, the techniques of instruction and training are no longer adequate. The new technique must get its pattern from the processes by which persons achieve intelligent, social, ethical, and spiritual personality, and from the processes by which the mores, purposes, and procedures of social life are reconstructed.

It is unnecessary to suggest that in a point of view so new we do not yet possess these techniques in any degree of refinement. Education stands at the portals of a new epoch in which it is reconceiving its objectives and its procedures. There are insights into the process on the basis of what is known concerning the nature of personality and of society. A number of fruitful experiments have been undertaken with large measures of success. But as yet these techniques are tentative. Reassuring and firm control of the process will wait upon patient experimentation over considerable periods of time. Those who look for smooth techniques that can be applied to teaching situations with comparative ease by the use of specific formulas will not feel at home with such a view of education. The comfort and security of older and tried techniques of instruction and training may lure them back to the accustomed paths. But courageous and adventurous souls will front the enterprise of creative education with the undaunted spirit of the pioneer and the experimentalist.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CHARACTER EDUCATION

Whatever the implications of these considerations for education of any type whatever, their significance for character education is apparent. Character is primarily

concerned with *persons* as such. It seeks to develop certain qualities of personality in terms of attitudes toward the world and man, of criticized and organized values, and of an integrated view of life and a sense of its total worth. The field in which these attitudes and values are primarily operative is a growing personality of the creative type.

Education for character stresses personality in its associated aspects. It is true that certain aspects of the ethical life can best be realized in some degree of detachment from the social milieu. But the mode of ethical thinking and feeling sets the individual in the social group from which he derives in large measure the content and pattern of his moral ideas, from which he derives stimulation and support, and through which, in association with his fellows, he finds expression for the rich and colorful *nuances* of his personal experience. Moral personality finds itself set in the larger social milieu with certain senses of tension arising out of differing and frequently conflicting views and purposes which it does not share with the larger group. At its highest level moral personality finds itself not only adjusting itself to the larger and sometimes hostile Great Society, but attempting to bring influences to bear for the reconstruction of the Great Society.

One cannot dwell upon the ideals and aspirations of the good life without becoming aware that at its heart morality is a factor of reconstruction. Dealing as it does with the criticism and reorganization of values, its attitude is essentially creative. At best the ethical spirit has always been a free and severe critic of the *status quo* of social life. It has shown the disposition to hold life as it is up in the light of what it ought to be and to pass judg-

ment upon it. The criteria upon which it bases its criticisms are just these personal and social values. The question which ethics asks of any institution or process, be it economic, social, political, educational, or ecclesiastical, is, What contribution does this institution or process make to the self-realization of persons or groups involved in it? The good life at its best dwells with lingering yearning upon the possibilities of growth in the light of the highest social and spiritual ideals that center in a universe of moral values.

CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS

The student of any given movement does not work long in any historical period until he discovers that its ideology roots deeply in the social, economic, and intellectual backgrounds of that period. This is true, as Professor Dewey has remarked, of philosophy.¹ It is true of the ideas that give philosophic support to a given political structure. It is no less true, as the modern theologian recognizes, of religious concepts and religious practices. In all these fields the critical student has come to regard ideational systems as rationalizations of the unconscious and deep-lying practical processes that constitute the life of a people. The ideology changes from time to time as the supporting practical experience changes.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY

The relation of educational concepts and procedures to the social backgrounds of a period is particularly intimate because education is in a very genuine sense a practical expression of a people's philosophy of life. A philosophy of education is something more than a formulation of a consistent system of ideas. Education is a practical process of social control by which society seeks to conserve its values and achievements and to recreate them in its young. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that the processes and values that constitute the life of a peo-

¹ *The Reconstruction of Philosophy*, chap. i.

ple in any given period find articulate expression in the objectives, the content, and the procedure of education. Moreover, it is impossible to understand the ideas and processes of education in any given period without some insight into the underlying economic, social, and intellectual factors.

One cannot comprehend the purposes, the content, and procedure of early Christian education, for example, without some insight into the social conditions of the Graeco-Roman world of the first century. The radical shift of emphasis from the intellect to the emotions, the renunciation of the normal impulses of human nature and the refinements of Graeco-Roman culture, and the fixation of attention upon life after death—none of these characteristics of Christian education can be understood except against the background of the reaction of primitive Christianity to the practical life of the Graeco-Roman world with its attendant philosophy and culture, particularly in the church of the West. Neither can one have any adequate appreciation of the authoritative and disciplinary education of the Middle Ages except against the social backgrounds of the Middle Ages whose task was the assimilation of the widely divergent streams of Greek, Roman, Jewish, Christian, and barbaric cultures into what was to become European civilization. No more can one hope to understand the freedom of the education of the Renaissance and its zest for the satisfactions of the present secular life except as he sees it in its larger social setting as a reaction from the repression, discipline, and otherworldliness of the Middle Ages in the direction of individualism and secularism. In like manner, back of the emerging modern concept of education as a vital and

creative experience undergoing redirection are structural values that lie deeply imbedded in our intellectual, economic, and social life.

A survey of our period discloses three fundamental processes which serve as the foci around which the general patterns of our civilization and culture are organized. These are science, industry, and democracy. We do well, therefore, to pause upon the threshold of our inquiry into the outlines of a technique for initiating the young into a creative personal and social experience, in order to explore the nature and the implications of these processes that lie at the center of our modern world.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the pattern of the modern mind has been chiefly set by the spirit and method of science. Its ideals have penetrated every area of our thinking, and it has given us a technique for dealing with the facts of experience.

The spirit of science.—Science is the expression of the attempt of modern man to introduce intelligence and control into his relations with his environing world. Its earliest adventures were in the field of the physical world. Its later developments have been in the direction of understanding and controlling the forces that are concerned with personal and social behavior.

The result of the application of this spirit and method are the natural and social sciences. From small and uncertain beginnings in the form of collections of scattered facts resulting from a passive but curious observation of phenomena in nature and society these sciences have grown into impressive and organized bodies of precise and

verified knowledge and precise and dependable formulas for the intelligent and purposive control of antecedents and consequents. The general movement of science has been from "pure" science, which was concerned primarily with observation and description of processes, factors, and "laws," to "applied" science, which is increasingly concerned with the utilization of these factors of control for the improvement of the conditions of human living, as represented in medicine, engineering, industrial processes, the social administration of law, and education. Most important of all, modern man is acquiring an attitude of mind that is critical, investigative, evaluating, and progressive. He is acquiring an experimental attitude toward himself and his world in the hope of improving the conditions of human living.

The method of science.—In addition to this spirit, science has acquired a method of procedure for dealing with the facts of experience. Basic in this technique is the uncompromising search for *facts*. It refuses to act upon unverified assumptions or uncriticized traditions. It seeks for objective data, believing that they are the open ways to reality. Once in possession of facts, science seeks for their *meaning*. It searches for correlations, for antecedents and consequences. It is through these meanings that it arrives first at understanding and then at control.

One of the basic procedures which science has developed for the discovery of facts is research. Research derives its technique from the process of critical and reflective thinking. It is a problem-solving technique. It works on the frontiers of knowledge where marginal problems remain still unsolved. It operates in the presence of the unknown and the unrealized, patiently searching for

new footholds upon the facts of experience. Having defined the problem, research sets out in quest of all the facts pertinent to that problem. It scrutinizes these facts in order to discover what meanings it can find in them. From among the possible solutions to the problem it selects that which offers the greatest promise of success. It is not content with surmises. The chosen solution is subjected to the most rigid processes of verification through testing. Once the solution is validated, it takes its place in the organized body of tested knowledge and techniques, thereafter to be utilized as a resource for intelligent and purposeful direction of thought and action. Research has shared the general trend of science in that in its more recent development it has included in its field not only abstract theoretical formulas but improvements in practical processes, such as industry, agriculture, medicine, engineering, and education.

Closely related to research and often a part of it is the method of experimentation. Like research, it is more than an instrument for validation; it is an instrument for discovery. It begins by measuring and evaluating results that have been obtained by existing processes. It seeks to discover the points at which the results are not as satisfactory as they should be. From an evaluation of results experimentation shifts its attention to the process by which the results have been obtained. In situations that are as nearly controlled as possible, it modifies the process by withdrawing certain factors and introducing others. It again measures results. Thus attention shifts from results to process and from process to results until the results are satisfactory. In this way experimentation begins with things as they are and seeks by specific objectives and

by specific changes in the process to produce specific improvements. Its feet are firmly planted upon reality and the materials with which it works are concrete. It works by the trial-and-error method in its most refined form. The scrapheap is one of the most necessary appurtenances of the inventor's shop. Thus the experimentalist feels his patient way until improvement has been achieved.

Until improvement has been achieved! That is the motive and method of experimentation. It is the way of creative living. It does not dwell complacently in the past, working by precedent. It restlessly and adventurously feels its way into its own uncreated future. It regards the achievements of the past as outposts on the frontiers of new adventures of living, as resources for furnishing insights and meanings for discovering new possibilities in life and for new and more fruitful ways of enriching and expanding human experience.

It is the function of education as an initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience to place at their disposal this scientific method which the modern world has found so fruitful in dealing with the physical facts of life, and to help them to acquire the mastery of this method in dealing with the facts of personal and social experience. And with the mastery of the techniques of evaluation and discovery it is the business of education to create this dynamic, forward-reaching, and creative attitude of mind in the young with whom the future of civilization rests. This attitude and this technique are in their nature not things that can be imposed authoritatively from *without*, as in instruction or training. This attitude and this technique must grow up *within* the experience of the learner himself. Education at this level

of creative living must get *inside* the process. It must begin with the concrete and specific situations faced by the learner. It must help him to analyze these situations for their factors and their possible outcomes. It must help him to search his own past experience and the experience of the race for knowledge that will make it possible for him to interpret these situations and to discover their meaning. Through the criticism and evaluation by which he judges these situations it must help him to discover for himself the values that are resident in these situations. It must assist him in putting his choices to the test of experimentation. It must help him through the intelligent choices which he makes progressively to transmute these judgments into a life-purpose.

INDUSTRY

It is impossible to think of the scientific method without bringing industry immediately into view. Historically, science and industry have developed reciprocally. Without the application of the natural sciences to practical processes, industry would have been impossible. It was inevitable, on the other hand, that with an insight into forces and processes and with a growing sense of control the method of science should make itself felt in the practical processes involved in manufacture. The period of scientific discovery is, therefore, roughly coextensive with technological advance.

The effect of these technological changes upon the structure of modern social life has been profound. Industry and the mental patterns that derive from it are organized around the machine. Around the machine have grown up vast industrial plants that have displaced the

older handicrafts. The concentration of industry has resulted in the great modern city. The utilization of the products of industry in the forms of food, clothing, buildings, transportation, household conveniences, and communication have radically changed the mental and behavior patterns of modern life. Probably at the present moment our modes of thinking, our outlook upon life, and our sense of values are more profoundly affected by industry than by any other single factor of our changing civilization.

To be sure, all such periods of transition have been attended by disorganization. The massing of population in great urban centers has created problems for both urban and rural life with which society is as yet unable to cope. With industrialism has come cruel exploitation of the underprivileged. The technical processes of science have been utilized for the appalling destructiveness of war, which is now transferred from the trenches to the chemical laboratories. Around science and its technology has sprung up a materialistic and mechanistic philosophy of life. Our sense of values has been loaded with an almost blinding appreciation of material goods. A mood of disillusionment and pessimism has seized upon great areas of the public mind.

Notwithstanding these negative concomitants of a period of such radical change, a creative movement of human experience is under way within which are being created new values, new modes of living, and new achievements that in their deepest nature are definite advances in the direction of a more expansive, a more intelligent, and a more satisfying human life. Only now is society in any measurable sense consciously and intelligently addressing

itself with some degree of control to these forces that are operative in human experience. One thinks of the realization of the interrelatedness and interdependence of human life on a scale vastly beyond anything that has heretofore been conceived. For the first time society is undertaking to correct by the knowledge of science its breakdowns of disease, poverty, and crime. Provincial cultures and nationalisms are yielding to a world-society. For the first time in history the civilized world is becoming convinced of the futile stupidity of war and is experimenting with international instruments to render it impossible. For the first time intolerable burdens of labor are being shifted from the shoulders of men to the nerveless sinews of the machine, and the masses are sharing opportunities for leisure, recreation, education, and culture. The enormous increase of wealth and a rising standard of living have brought to the common man comforts and satisfactions heretofore denied to princes. A new sense of the worth of life in its realistic setting of present wants and satisfactions is growing up in the place of escape from present intolerable conditions into the anticipated satisfactions of some remote future life.

Not least of these effects has been the reorientation of the modern mind to the real issues of practical life and the introduction of intelligence and control into its processes. Thought is concerning itself with reality rather than with abstract metaphysical ideas that are beyond the reach of validation in experience. The chasm between thought and action is tending to be filled, so that thought is becoming practical and action is becoming intelligent.

The effect of these changes in our modern mode of life and thought upon education is profound. Education is

becoming distrustful of inert ideas, of abstract concepts, and of knowledge as an end in itself. It is beginning to feel that it is concerned with life itself—with nothing more and with nothing less. It seeks to put intelligence and control into conduct. Its issue is an effective and a good life.

DEMOCRACY

Inseparably connected with the development of science and industry has been the rise of the concept of democracy. It is without doubt the most colossal experiment to which the human spirit has set itself. Only now are the roughest outlines of its essential character perceived. In its earliest development some saw in it freedom from restraint, and equality, not only of opportunity, but of capacity as well. To others it has assumed the form of the political state, while to still others it has seemed to take the form of an industrial organization. But it becomes increasingly clear that democracy is essentially a way of life, a form of associated living. It is a sharing of experience, of ideas, of purposes, and of responsibilities. Only dimly is it perceived what profound changes it will make if and when it is thoroughly incorporated into the major relations and functions of life, such as the family, industry, the political state, education, and religion.

Democracy as a form of associated living through the sharing of experience, ideas, purposes, and responsibilities furnishes the most stimulating and enriching social medium within which persons may realize themselves. Social psychology has made clear the social nature of personality. Persons cannot realize themselves in isolation. Of all the historic forms of social organization which the human experiment has devised, democracy is the most

fruitful for personality because of the interaction of persons and persons, of persons and groups, and of groups and groups.

But if democracy provides the most stimulating social medium, there is no other form of social organization that makes such exacting demands upon the individual. In autocratic societies where the few rule and the many obey, initiative and responsibility are required only of the élite, while the qualities required of the many are compliance, submission, and obedience. It is quite otherwise in a democracy where the few, because of their larger native endowments, lead while the many follow in furthering the common purposes of the group. The functions of intelligent leadership and intelligent following require the qualities of originality, initiative, resourcefulness, ability to analyze social situations, ability to search out and face facts, ability to see the point of view of others, self-determination, an experimental attitude, and a deep sense of responsibility to the social whole. The techniques of self-determination operate through the formation of public opinion, the rigid discipline of self-control, the evaluation of courses of action, and collective purpose and effort.

In whatever area of life, democracy faces the problem of the reconciliation of freedom and control. From a superficial point of view, these two concepts seem not only mutually exclusive, but irreconcilable. How can personal life be free, enriched, and self-determining within the restraint necessary to any effective group life? In their radical forms freedom and control are irreconcilable. In the autocratic forms of society from which modern life is rapidly moving away, social control was authoritative

and from without. In its reaction from authoritative and external control, freedom has tended toward an equally radical individualism.

The answer of democracy to this problem is that neither radical social control from without nor radical individual control from within are adequate to satisfy the demands of modern life. The democratic way of life proposes the reconciliation of both these concepts through their integration into an experience larger than either taken alone. Democratic control is the product of the interaction of the individual and the group, through sharing of understanding, through sharing of values, through sharing of purposes, and through participation in collective action. Such sharing not only makes room for the development of personality to the *n*th degree but, through the socialization of such highly developed persons, a coherent and effective social organization. Thus in the democratic experiment the highest interests of the individual and the highest interests of the social group fuse into a larger, richer, more meaningful total experience. Through sharing, control has become co-operative. The individual regulates his own desires in the light of the larger values of the common life of the group in which he responsibly participates, while the group seeks in its individual members the qualities of initiative, criticism, and freedom as necessary factors in permanent and progressive social experience. So that, basically, the larger interests of the individual and of society are one.

The influence of the concept of democracy upon education has been no less far reaching than that of the scientific method, with its emphasis upon dealing intelligently with experience, or of industry, with its emphasis upon

productivity and the practical issues of life. The qualities of mind, the attitudes, the motives, and the techniques of democratic living cannot be brought about in persons by instruction in the facts about democracy nor by training in the traits and habits of democracy. They will come about through the actual and responsible participation of growing persons, up to the limits of their capacity, in the relations and functions of democratic living. The procedure by which these attitudes and techniques will be acquired must itself be a democratic process in which the learner is admitted to responsible sharing in the determination of the content, the procedure, and the ends of the learning process. A democratic social life demands a democratic education.

These, then, are the fundamental assumptions that lie imbedded in the intellectual, economic, and social backgrounds of our modern world. They furnish the structural ideational supports for a technique of character education through the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience. Without them, such a conception of the nature of the educative process could not have arisen. Without them a technique for realizing the values which they carry could not be undertaken. Neither can a technique worked out on a basis which ignores these ideas and values validate itself in the light of the demands of the modern world.

CHAPTER III

PERSONALITY ACHIEVED THROUGH EXPERIENCE

If the primary objective of character education is the development of a social, ethical, and spiritual type of personality, the techniques by which that end is to be achieved will be determined by the nature of personality, by the processes by which it is developed, and by an understanding of the factors of control that are resident in those processes. Consequently, before attempting the formulation of a technique for assisting the young to achieve moral and spiritual personality the educator must think himself to clearness as to the nature of personality and the processes by which it is achieved.

THE NATURE OF PERSONALITY

The most fruitful approach to the understanding of personality as it is conceived by modern scientific psychology is through seeing it as a more or less stable organization of physical elements, impulses, habits, ideas, attitudes, and purposes.

This way of conceiving personality brings it down out of the realm of the abstract and the general into the realm of the concrete and the specific. Personality does not exist in the abstract. The general idea of personality merely symbolizes what one sees in specific persons at a given moment of time. So that personality is not only observed in specific persons, but it appears in any given person as a specific organization of physical elements,

impulses, habits, ideas, attitudes, and purposes. The description of a given person will be as specific and unique as the person observed. It is with specific *persons as persons* that education deals.

Moreover, the educator deals with the whole person. He does not deal with the "mind" in isolation from the "body," nor with the "soul" as a separate entity in isolation from the "mind" or the "body." He confronts instead a total organism behaving in certain identifiable ways and always with reference to certain aspects of his material and social world and to conditions existing within the organism itself. Consequently, any sharp distinction between "mind" and "body" tends to disappear. In any given unit of behavior it is impossible clearly to distinguish between what is due to "mind" and what is due to "body." "Mind" and "body" become different aspects of a continuous and undifferentiated behavior process, so intimately interrelated and interdependent that it is impossible to deal with the one without at the same time dealing with the other.

This interrelatedness and interdependence of the organic and mental factors in human behavior make it obvious that the organic factors are of the utmost importance in the development of personality. No system of moral and spiritual education can lay claim to adequacy that fails to take them fully into account. The smooth and co-ordinated working of the organs of the body, the functioning of the glands of internal secretion, and the operation of the autonomic and sympathetic systems—all these organic factors have far-reaching and fundamental effects upon personality. It is now well understood that one's unconscious yearnings, one's entire outlook upon

life, and the whole tone of the integral self are profoundly conditioned by the operation of these factors. It is also well understood that certain mental states have direct influence upon the functioning of these organic factors.

Something of the place of these organic factors in the development of personality is suggested by such studies as those of Professor C. Judson Herrick regarding the human cortex.¹ The absence of the cortex in rats sets a strict limit beyond which the behavior of rats cannot attain. The presence of this organ in man makes human behavior possible in man. The cortex makes it possible for man to suspend his response to the situations which confront him in his environing world, to analyze his situations, to project possible outcomes, to evaluate them, and to form purposes concerning them. Such studies as those of Dr. Louis Berman² throw revealing light upon the heretofore unsuspected influence of the endocrine glands upon personality.

Closely allied with these organic factors is the system of organized reflexes that supplies the mechanism of response to stimuli below the level of consciousness, reflective thinking, and evaluation. The reflex, either in its simple or compounded form, is the basis for animal behavior. Its elaboration into behavior patterns has given us the behavioristic psychology.³ The technique of educational control is through the conditioned reflex. Man, as well as the subhuman species, is richly endowed with

¹ *Brains of Rats and Men*. Cf. also his latest book, *The Thinking Machine*.

² *The Glands Regulating Personality*.

³ Cf. John B. Watson's *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*.

reflexes. These, like the organic factors, place conditioning limits upon personality while they at the same time furnish incalculable resources for its achievement when constructively organized and utilized.

Neither is it possible to overlook the unconscious as a factor in the development of personality. In the dark depths of the unconscious lie hidden the elemental urges that are seeking for expression and satisfaction. These manifest themselves in rationalizations that seek rational justification for doing what one wishes on irrational grounds to do. They furnish the basis for compensations in conduct. They furnish the basis of complexes that are formed when these impulses are thrust back upon themselves through repression. They are believed by the psychoanalyst and the psychiatrist to form the fundamental patterns of personal behavior throughout life. The unconscious is the region of many of the conditionings that modify conduct in subsequent years. Many of the tensions and conflicts that determine behavior patterns operate far below the threshold of consciousness.¹ The psychiatric clinic furnishes abundant evidence of the fundamental importance of these unconscious factors, not only in disorganized personality, but in the normal processes of personality growth.

There is no more fundamental factor in the development of personality than the interaction of the individual with his social group. The self is largely a social product. The individual is born into a social group. The situations to which he responds are predominantly social situations

¹ Cf., e.g., J. H. Van der Hoop's *Character and the Unconscious*; Alfred Adler's *Understanding Human Nature*; and Frances G. Wickes's *The Inner World of Childhood*.

involving persons, mores, social achievements, institutions, and social modes of thought. Even his material world has been profoundly modified by social reconstructions and usage. He unconsciously takes over from the group behavior patterns that are socially accepted and that have the sanction of long social usage. These established behavior patterns largely determine his language, his food habits, his manner of dress, his economic activities, his habits of thought, his outlook upon life, his aesthetic tastes, and his standards of moral conduct. He is subjected from the beginning not only to social conditionings of his behavior, but to various forms of social pressure ranging from unconscious social constraint to conscious and preinstituted regulation enforced by social authority, in extreme instances by force to the uttermost. This social factor involves the entire range of human relations by which the individual person is caught up in the texture of social life like a thread in an intricately woven tapestry.

So that, as Dr. William A. White has suggested, it is possible to identify at least three levels of factors that enter into the formation of personality—the physico-chemical, the reflexive, and the intelligent and purposive.¹ To these the social psychologist would add the interaction of the person with his social group. No one who conceives the task of education in terms of the development of certain types of personality can possibly overlook or neglect any of these fundamental factors and resources. All of these factors constitute aspects of the situations. Each of these groups of factors has its own specialized techniques. The control of the physico-chemical factors calls for the

¹ *The Mechanisms of Character Development.*

techniques of physical education and medicine. The organization of the social environment requires the techniques of the social psychologist and the social case worker. The clearing up of the conditionings and conflicts that have arisen out of personal maladjustments is dependent upon the techniques of the psychiatrist. The interdependence and interaction of all these factors, together with the factors that determine behavior on the reflective and purposive level, necessitate the intelligent co-operation of technicians in all these fields in an understanding and control of the processes that determine the development of self-realizing personality. A complete program of character education must take adequate account of all of them. It is not because of a failure to appreciate any of these groups of factors that operate below the level of conscious, intelligent, and purposive experience that the present discussion does not attempt to include them in its purview. Rather, it has marked out for its field that *aspect* of experience that is conscious, reflective, evaluating, and purposive as the highest level of human experience and the field within which creative experience is possible through initiation into the processes that make the achievement of personality by the person himself possible. As each of these groups of factors has its specialized techniques, so education through creative experience must develop a technique for dealing with experience at the conscious, intelligent, and purposive level. The experience with which creative intelligence deals includes all of these factors. In dealing with the entire range of experience creatively it will utilize all these techniques.

From this temporary digression in order to take ac-

count of the complexity of the processes that enter into the determination of personality, we may now return to the concept of personality as a more or less stable organization of physical elements, impulses, habits, attitudes, ideas, and purposes. From this point of view it is clear that the educator is dealing, not with a static and given entity, but with a *process*, a *becoming*. This organization that constitutes personality is undergoing continuous change, so that it is never quite the same as it was at any moment in its past history and it will never again be quite what it is now at any given moment in its future. In this way any given personality unites continuity with change. It is a moving equilibrium in which the various aspects of the whole are undergoing change both in quality and degree, but always in relation to each other.

It is possible, of course, to think of personality as a result as well as a process. But in order to do this, it is necessary to arrest the process by lifting out a given moment of the process for purposes of description and analysis. Only in this way can personality be thought of as static. But while the present moment is being lifted out for purposes of description and analysis, the personality which is undergoing analysis has already changed into something other than it was. This is the same thing that happens in the scientific description and analysis of any aspect of a dynamic world that is constantly moving forward into its own uncreated future. For this reason the scientific study of phenomena, be they physical, chemical, geological, or psychological, gives a static appearance to these aspects of reality which as a matter of fact they do not possess. This is one of the limitations of scientific thought. In the same manner, the lifting out of the pres-

ent moment in a developing personality for purposes of description and analysis of the processes and factors involved subjects the educator to the illusion of seeing personality as static. As a matter of fact, the educator is concerned with a continuous but ever changing process. So that, while it is possible to think of personality as the result of the factors operating in its own past, it is, at the very moment one is so thinking of it, conditioning and creating its own future. The present moment of selfhood is absorbed in the causal sequence of an unbroken personal experience.

Manifestly, it is impossible to think of personality in any adequate way without discriminating among various orders of personality. Seeing personality as an organization of physical elements, impulses, habits, attitudes, and ideas at once introduces the consideration of qualitative differences into the matter of organization. In the lowest orders of personality which fall to the pathological level, there may be utter lack of organization, as in the case of the mentally defective, or of disorganization, as in the case of the insane. In the highest orders of personality these physical elements, impulses, habits, attitudes, and ideas are subjected to criticism, are organized through the subordination of secondary elements to dominant elements, are integrated into a consistent whole, and are stable and dependable. In the lower, unstable orders of personality it is impossible to predict with any degree of certainty what such a person will do in a given situation. On the other hand, it is possible to predict within variable limits what a highly organized, integrated, and stable person will do in given circumstances because his behavior has become selective, evaluative, and purposive.

The center of the most effective type of personality is, therefore, clearly thereby located in a set of self-approved values that have been transmuted into a dominant purpose.

It is at this point that it becomes possible to differentiate character from personality. It is possible to have a very high degree of integration and consistency in a personality which at the same time would rank very low from the standpoint of character. The most intelligent and effective criminal may have a very highly organized personality and may be all but perfectly adjusted to his limited environment from his point of view. Nevertheless, he would be rated an objectionable character. Personality is what a person *is* in the total aspect of his impulses, habits, attitudes, and ideas. Character is what he is judged to be when that organization of impulses, habits, attitudes, and ideas is subjected to criticism and evaluation in the light of the approved social, ethical, and spiritual standards which he himself or the group of which he is a member accepts, in the light of the tested experience of the race and of the demands of the present situation. It not infrequently happens that the judgment of the person himself does not coincide with the approval of his group. Some of the noblest persons whom the social group has subsequently approved as superlatively good have been persons whose ethical and spiritual insights have been far more penetrating and comprehending than those of the social group. These have been the great moral leaders, the prophets, and spiritual pioneers who have experimented with unrealized possibilities of the good life, such as Socrates and Jesus. It is possible that the more integrated and stable a person may be, as in the case of

the professional criminal, the more undesirable and dangerous he may be. It is also possible that a person who is far from possessing a completely integrated and stable personality may still be judged by society to be a good man if his impulses and attitudes are in accord with the approved standards of society. The ideal person is one whose personality is completely organized and stable and who at the same time has impulses, habits, attitudes, and ideas that are judged by himself and by society to be good. The fundamental function of character education is to bring these two qualities of personality—integration and goodness—into complete harmony from the standpoint of the individual himself and of society. In this objective lies the moral and spiritual aim of education.

PERSONALITY THE RESULT OF EXPERIENCE

It has already been suggested in the discussion concerning the nature of personality that it is at once a result and a process. In order to get hold of the process by which personality is developed, it will for the moment be necessary to think of it as a result so that some insight may be secured into the process out of which it has grown.

In this process it is possible to identify two fundamental factors—the person's original nature and the environment to which he reacts. There are those who, impressed by the prepotency of original nature, find in it the chief determinant of personality. These insist that differences in environment as among different individuals, or changes in environment in the case of a given individual, have little effect upon personality. At the opposite extreme there are those who, impressed with the prepotency of the environmental factors, see in them the

primary determinants of personality. The difficulty in attempting to make such sharp distinctions between these factors is apparent when one observes how difficult it is to determine how much of one's behavior is due to original nature and how much is traceable to the influence of the environment. The reason for this difficulty is the fact that, once experience is under way, one is dealing with an organization in which impulses are already flowing into the molds of habits so that they are in process of being changed into patterns of behavior. The facts concerning human behavior seem to lie somewhere between these two extremes and to include them both. The clearest insight into human nature suggests that the behavior of human beings is the result of the interaction of these two factors, of man's original nature and his environing world. The ultimate basis of all responses which persons make to their world rests in the impulses of original nature. But no sooner is a response made to the stimuli of the environing world than modifications are effected in the original impulses themselves. Connections are established between stimuli and responses. Those responses which bring satisfaction and are frequently repeated tend to become habits. Those responses that bring annoyance or are infrequently made tend to disappear. It appears that the impulses to action are the results of man's original nature but that the patterns which responses assume are chiefly taken over from the social milieu. Original impulses are not simply overlaid with habits; through habit they are organized into constructs or patterns of behavior. Human nature itself is reconstructed through the adjustment process. As a result of these cumulative changes, which come about through the interaction of original nature and

the environing world, habits in the form of behavior patterns are formed, preferential attitudes toward the various aspects of the physical and social environment are assumed, meanings in the form of ideas are built up and organized into systems, and a system of values emerges. This organization differs with different persons according to the differences in their original nature and their experience.

It may be said, then, that persons realize themselves through the experiences which they have. Experience, moreover, is the outgrowth of the adjustment process by which persons, equipped with natural tendencies, respond to the various aspects of their physical and social world. Once these responses are under way, they tend to become organized into a more or less stable but constantly changing system of impulses, habits, attitudes, ideas, and purposes. This is personality. When subjected to criticism and approval or disapproval in the light of personal and social values, this is character. Manifestly, the approach to the process by which growing persons may be assisted in achieving a moral and spiritual type of personality is through the intelligent and purposive reconstruction of the constantly changing experience through which persons realize themselves.

PERSONALITY AS ACHIEVEMENT

If the experience through which persons realize themselves is nothing more than a chance experience without conscious and intelligent direction and control, personality and character will be nothing more than the *result* of the factors of experience working fortuitously. In that event the change that is resident in the process of the

interaction of the person and his world will not at all necessarily be change in a desirable direction. Under one set of circumstances unorganized adjustment may result in a disintegrated personality. Under another set of conditions personality may be highly integrated but in the wrong direction. Under a highly controlled environment the result may be a personality that from an ethical viewpoint is passive and conforming, resulting in merely conventional goodness. But in any case we have only a *result*, like the devastation of a tornado, the tortuous bed of a stream, or a forest fire—the results of unplanned and undirected energy.

On the other hand, through the introduction of consciousness, intelligence, and purpose into the process mere *change* may be transformed into *achievement*. The fact that the process is constantly undergoing change as adjustment proceeds opens the way for the reconstruction of experience through understanding and control of the factors involved in experience. *A certain type of personality* now becomes *the end sought*. To the extent that the desired and purposed end has been attained through conscious, intelligent, and controlled experience, it becomes *achievement*.

Now, to recur to the assumptions discussed in chapter ii, personality and character as achievement may come about in either of two ways. It may be the achievement of adult society fashioning character from without by means of external control, through training techniques. The history of education presents numerous examples of the deliberate use by society of education as an instrument of control for creating certain types of mind and certain social attitudes, as well as for developing certain types of skills that are considered useful to the social

group. Perhaps the most outstanding instance of this use of education was in the case of the Bismarckian policy of utilizing the schools of Germany for creating a militaristic and technical citizenry on the basis of the assumption that what was wanted in the national life should first be introduced into the school. Another striking illustration in modern life is the policy of Japan which, through modern methods of education, effected the transition from a feudal society to a modern state within a single generation. The chief reliance of Japan in nationalizing Korea has been upon the introduction of Japanese education into the Korean schools. Modern states have generally come to regard education as the primary and most effective instrument of social control. The achievement of its ends by adult society through education assumes the technique of society setting up the ends which it desires to attain in its young, of selecting and arranging stimuli and situations such that, human nature being what it is, the desired responses will be secured, and of reducing these responses to fixed habits of behavior. The result is the production of a type of personality and character that is acceptable to the authoritative and external society that has produced it. But it is the achievement of adult society. Education remains something that is done *for* and *to* the child. Education is for the most part manipulation and remains external to the vital and personal experience of the young. The psychological assumptions that lie back of the process are fundamentally those which lay back of the Herbartian system of instruction—the *formation* of personality and character from without through the operation of factors external to the thinking, the evaluation, and the purposing of the learner himself.

Or, moral and spiritual personality may be the achieve-

ment of the person himself, feeling his way through his own experience and the experience of his group with adult guidance and with the resources of the long and tested experience of the race. In that event the learner himself seeks to interpret his own experience, to discover the values that inhere in it, to criticize and evaluate these values in the light of the experience of the race and of the demands of the present situation, and to form and execute purposes concerning his experience. The techniques for this process rest upon the assumptions of chapter ii—inner control through the scientific method of understanding and analysis, the application of understanding and control to the practical conduct of life, free and responsible self-determination in a democratic social organization, and the discovery and integration of all the values that are resident in an ongoing personal and social experience in terms of their cosmic relations and meaning. These techniques will get on the inside of the process itself. This is education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience. Through it moral and spiritual personality is an *achievement* of the persons and the groups involved.

UTILIZING THE RESOURCES OF HUMAN NATURE

Education as creative personal and social experience is predicated upon the utilization of the highest available resources of human nature. The educator works with human material. The limitations of what he can accomplish with that material are determined by the resources that are native to it. If the resources of human nature are limited to those mechanisms that only admit of the formation of habits predetermined and inculcated by forces

external to the learner, then education cannot hope to rise above the level of superimposed training. But if the resources of human nature are such in their range and quality as to permit of critical interpretation of experience, of the discovery and organization of its values, and of the integration of values into dominant and controlling purposes, then an education that does not rise to the creative level has impoverished itself by failing to utilize the resources at its command.

It is at this point that the fundamental issue between the psychological assumptions that underlie a philosophy and a technique of education, especially of moral and spiritual education, is most sharply drawn. The educator must make choice between the general psychological assumptions of, let us say, Professor John B. Watson and Professor C. Judson Herrick. If, as Professor Watson concludes,¹ the educator has in human nature only the resources of mechanical reflexes which may be organized into complex responses to work with, he will be forced to disregard consciousness as a meaningless and inconsequential accompaniment of organic behavior, to dismiss reflective thinking as ineffective in influencing the mechanically determined sequences of stimulus and response, and to forego values and purposes as illusory concomitants of irrational drives. He will be shut up in his choice of techniques to the conditioned reflex as an instrument of external manipulation. But if, as Professor Herrick concludes,² on the basis of what appears to be a more thoroughgoing experimental technique, the educator possesses in human nature the capacity to delay re-

¹ In his *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*.

² In his *Brains of Rats and Men*.

sponses to situations, to interpose analytical and selective thinking, to form criticized values and purposes, and to project certain types of behavior, the range and possibilities of his undertaking with human beings are vastly extended. To neglect these factors of reflective thinking and purpose is to shut education up to the utilization of a predominantly animal equipment. An education designed for human beings should base its techniques upon these higher capacities of men for intelligent, selective, and purposive behavior rather than upon the mechanical reflexes of rats and guinea pigs. These resources of human nature have made possible the elaboration of the scientific method, the application of insight and understanding and control to the practical processes of life, participation in the democratic form of associated living, and the appreciations and products of art and religion. It is due to these achievements in the modern world that the career of men has been nobler and vastly more significant than that of rats. The capacity to think, to discover values, to erect ends, to form judgments, and to execute increasingly complex forms of control are the crowning glories of human nature. An education for the modern world can scarcely neglect these very factors that have given meaning and significance to the experience of our modern human world. Its chief function is to place these resources at the disposal of the young and to introduce them to their effective utilization in the intelligent reconstruction of their own experience.

It is at this point also that one comes upon the naïve inconsistency of the mechanists. Since consciousness, thinking, and purpose on this assumption can play no legitimate part in the processes by which the young learn,

it would naturally be assumed that it could play no legitimate part in the behavior of the educator. And yet, in spite of the assumed unavailability of these resources, the educator who employs the training technique sets about in the most deliberate and purposive manner to bring to pass certain results which he judges to be desirable in the young through manipulation! This naïve inconsistency has, of course, the effect of endowing the educator and adult society with consciousness, thinking, and purposing which, on the basis of the psychological assumption, are no part of the equipment of human nature! If adult educators are capable of discrimination, thinking, and judging, may it not be assumed that the young possess these same capacities, at least in a less mature degree? Would it not be to the advantage of intelligent, practical, and democratic living if the learner were given the opportunity to think for himself and to make choices within the limits of his maturity and experience? Otherwise we must assume that a shift has been made in the psychology of the adult which enables him to utilize capacities which the assumptions of mechanism deny to the less mature members of society. This shift the mechanistic educator has not attempted to explain.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNIT OF LEARNING

When education is conceived as the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience, the unit of learning is profoundly affected. The educator is now concerned with assisting the learner to explore, interpret, enrich, and control his own experience. This involves the location of the unit of learning within the ongoing experience of those who are undergoing education.

VARIANT CONCEPTS OF THE UNIT OF LEARNING

The variant viewpoints concerning the nature and function of the educative process elaborated in chapter i, when translated into teaching techniques, involve equally variant concepts of the unit of learning.

A block of subject matter.—If education is thought of as the acquisition of a body of knowledge by the learner, the unit of learning becomes a block of subject matter to be assimilated. The practical result of this conception for the teaching procedure has been the arrangement of subject matter in logical forms and the division of the whole body of knowledge into manageable parcels. The order of presentation follows the general principles of logical sequence, of proceeding from the known to the unknown, and of proceeding from the less to the more difficult. At the end of the presentation of each parcel of subject matter, the material presented is reviewed and tested to insure that the unit has been mastered by the learner.

Mastery, under this point of view, means comprehension and ability to recall the subject matter learned.

The presentation of blocks of subject matter has been closely interrelated with a time schedule. Whole courses are laid out for definite periods of time, such as the school year or the term. These longer periods are in turn subdivided into smaller fractional periods, such as the month, the week, and the daily recitation. So that when specific quantities of subject matter and specific time elements are brought together, as they are in practice, a unit of learning from this point of view becomes a block of subject matter to be mastered in a specified period of time.

A trait.—If education is conceived as a process of teaching traits and their appropriate trait-actions in preparation for adult living either in the fundamental processes of economic, industrial, or civic life or in character education, the unit of learning becomes a trait and its corresponding trait-action. The complete list of traits arrived at by activity analysis of adult life or by adult consensus is reduced by the organization of these traits into constellations so as to bring them within the compass of the teaching opportunities in the school. These traits are then arranged in a time schedule for teaching situations. A pretest is given, the trait is taught, and a final test is given to ascertain the degree of its mastery.

A habit.—Closely allied to the teaching of traits, as we have had occasion to observe in chapter i, is the teaching of habits. In that event, the unit of learning becomes a habit. These habits are arrived at in much the same manner as the traits, through the analysis of adult activity and through adult consensus. These selected habits are then arranged in systems and the habits are taught in

a series, in conformity to a predetermined time schedule. In character education a "moral fiber test" is given before teaching to ascertain the existing habits of the person. The habit is then taught. A final test is the measure of the degree to which the habit has been mastered.

A skill.—When education is conceived as the acquisition of a body of skills, a concept but slightly differentiated from that of education as the acquisition of habits, the unit of learning becomes a skill to be mastered. From this point of view, the subject matter involved in the acquisition of a skill is entirely subordinated to the skill itself, as is the time schedule. The amount of subject matter now required is only that necessary for the mastery of the skill. The same is true of the time schedule. Thus, if the skill to be acquired is the ability to read Latin, the unit of learning is not a predetermined amount of Latin to be read, but only such an amount of Latin as the learner needs to acquire reading skill. Very able students will acquire this ability with a minimum of Latin text, while slower students will require a much larger amount of the Latin text. But, be the quantity of text used large or small, the unit is complete when the student can take a paragraph or a page of Latin and, closing the book, reproduce its content accurately. This is what Professor Henry C. Morrison calls the "mastery level" of learning. So also with the time spent on these units. How long will it take to learn to read Latin? The answer to this question cannot be stated in terms of a fixed time schedule or in terms of a general requirement for all students. If the student is very able, he will acquire the ability to read Latin in a relatively short period of time, as he will use a relatively small amount of text. If he is

slow, he will require a much longer time, as he will require a much larger amount of text. The sole determinant of the amount of subject matter and of the amount of time will depend upon the ability of a given student to reach the "mastery level." The technique employed follows the series of steps: (1) a pretest; (2) teaching; (3) a retest; (4) reteaching; (5) retesting; (6) reteaching; (7) retesting; and so on until the "mastery level" has been reached. The unit under consideration is then released, and the student goes on to the mastery of another unit. The same technique is followed in all the skills, such as carrying on the several mathematical operations, the writing of correct English, the conduct of laboratory techniques, and appreciation of art.¹

A unit of learner experience.—It is clear, however, that when education is thought of as the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience through the learner's own interpretation, enrichment, and control of that experience, the unit of learning is still further shifted. It now becomes a specific unit of learner experience to be raised into consciousness, interpreted, analyzed, evaluated, and brought through to a satisfactory outcome.

THE NATURE OF EXPERIENCE

Experience the outgrowth of the adjustment process.—As the writer has shown in an earlier discussion,² experience is the outgrowth of the process by which persons adjust themselves to their material and social world. In this ad-

¹ For a very clear and adequate exposition of this conception of the unit of learning, as well as for the technique of dealing with it, cf. Henry C. Morrison's *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School*.

² *The Curriculum of Religious Education* (1925), chap. vi.

justment the person's outreach toward his world is active and controlling. He seeks to satisfy needs by adapting his environing world within the limits of his control. Beyond these limits of control, he adapts himself to his world in the interests of survival and well-being. It is through the utilization of his world and submission to its intractable elements that he derives meaning, which, when cumulative and organized, constitutes his growing body of knowledge. It is in this same process of adjustment to his material and social world that his appreciations, his preferential attitudes, and his values arise. It is out of this adjustment process that he slowly acquires a body of techniques for dealing with the various aspects of his world. It is within these meanings and values that he discovers criteria for judging the worth of ends and means. These constitute his standards of ethical, intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual judgments. Adjustment thus freighted with meanings, appreciations, and values constitutes experience.

The pattern of experience—When broken down, therefore, into its constituent elements, as was shown in that earlier discussion,¹ experience exhibits a characteristic pattern. The *terminus a quo* of a given unit of experience is an identifiable situation. This situation when subjected to analysis is seen to consist of an organization of stimuli in various numbers and combinations that is capable of evoking a response from the person. In extremely simple situations there may be a minimum number of stimuli, as when one responds to falling rain by carrying an umbrella. Even in the most simple situations it is doubtful whether stimuli ever act in complete isolation. In the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82 ff.

complex situations, which are by far the more characteristic of human experience, many stimuli are combined in a total organization which operates in its complex character to evoke responses, so that one is responding to numerous stimuli variously organized at the same time, as when one faces the choice of a vocation or a complex diplomatic problem.

It is the opinion of the Gestaltists that the situation consists of a broad background of combined stimuli against which a particular aspect of the situation is particularly emergent. From that point of view, one's response is to a luminous point that plays upon a total organized background.¹ Thus one's carrying an umbrella is not a response to falling rain alone, but to a total and quite complex situation with reference to which the fact that rain is falling is a luminous, outstanding point. The rain is falling at the moment one is leaving to meet an engagement to give a lecture. The appearance of one's clothing and the fact of health are carried as fringes around the immediately obtrusive fact of falling rain. Therefore the umbrella. One suspects that if the researches which Köhler has carried on with his primates were carried on with persons at the various stages of growth as well as with children, the findings would be similar.

Once, of course, responses have been made to situations, these responses themselves, whether they persist in the form of records, achievements, meanings, objects of art, or institutions, become secondary situations to which further responses are made. So that responses not only

¹ Cf. Kurt Koffka, *The Growth of the Mind*, especially the criticism of E. L. Thorndike's more selective view of stimulus and response.

tend to pile up through this interweaving process, but the response is itself a moving thing. The situation as well as the response that is being made to it is undergoing change during the response process. This is what is known as circular response.¹

The *terminus ad quem* of a given unit of experience is an identifiable response. It is the specific thing a person does with reference to a specific situation. As in the case of the situation, the response may be correspondingly simple, as in carrying an umbrella to protect one from the falling rain. Or it may be exceedingly complex, running through the entire gamut of reflective thinking, puzzling out a solution to a perplexing problem, weighing ends and means, heightened emotion, and sustained executive action.

Here, as in the case of stimuli in a situation, the response is generally an organization of many complex elements variously combined. What may be thought of as the primary aspect of a response, so obtrusive as to appear to be the sole element in the response, is, as a matter of fact, imbedded in a whole complex of concomitants. Thus one is never "honest" in an abstract way, or in isolation from many other concomitant aspects of his response. His "honesty" may carry with it a prudential fringe, or a fringe of fear, or it may be the outcropping of deep and permanent attitudes of social conduct. Thus a response can be broken down and dissected intellectually, but in practice it can never be torn apart. The whole self is responding to a whole situation in a total, complex manner.

When we speak of a unit of experience moving from

¹ Cf. Mary P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, especially chap. iii.

an identifiable situation to an identifiable response, we should not overlook the fact that it is never quite possible to slice out a unit of experience in quite such a clear-cut manner. Every unit of experience has tentacles of antecedents and consequents that reach backward into the past and forward into the future. Frequently conditioning factors that enter an experience extend back to a remote and forgotten past. In the same way the factors of the present experience may have far-reaching effects upon what a person will do in the remote future. Notwithstanding, it is possible to identify these two fundamental limits of an experience in terms of a situation and a response that is made to it.

THE UNIT OF LEARNING

When an attempt is made to assist the learner in interpreting, enriching, and controlling his own experience, the unit of learning becomes a unit of experience the *terminus a quo* of which is an identifiable situation and the *terminus ad quem* of which is an identifiable response. Lying between these termini of situation and completed response are the processes of interpretation, analysis of the situation for its essential factors, analysis of the response for its possible outcomes, a search of the learner's own past experience and of the experience of the race for such light as they may throw upon the situation and its resolution, an evaluation of the situation and its outcomes through comparison and judging, the choice of the best outcome in the light of the best experience of the race and of the demands of the present situation, and a carrying through of the chosen outcome.

For the purposes of character education these units

will be lifted out of the normal, day-by-day experience of the learner and the learning group—from the family, the school, vocational activity, recreation, civic life, and aesthetic enjoyment. They will be non-selective in that they will cover the entire range of experience so that in time all of it will be brought under analysis unit by unit until the whole of life gets meaning and significance and is subjected to discriminating and purposeful treatment.

These units may be those of the individual learner or of the learning group. These units will be as individual and unique as the person himself. Thus, for example, the choice of a vocation must be made by each individual person for himself alone, in the light of his own capacities and interests. On the other hand, each individual's experience is heavily weighted with social factors. Within a given group, the general patterns of the experience of a member of the group are largely conditioned by the experience of the group. The social milieu deeply affects his general point of view, his sense of values, his interests, and his behavior patterns. Moreover, the group as a group has experiences which are shared by all its members. Thus, for example, a group of boys is playing football in a backyard. The ball while in play accidentally goes through a neighbor's window. A situation is occasioned by this event to which the members of the group must react not only as individuals, but collectively. A discussion follows in which the group faces a number of alternatives, such as escaping as quickly as possible from the lot, going to the owner and offering apologies, or going to the neighbor and offering to pay for the damage done. Within the group, each member will respond in a certain way. One member, as in the case the writer has in mind,

may leave the group without assuming responsibility, leaving the others to pay for the damage. All life is like that. There is an intermixture of personal and social elements in practically all the situations to which one is called to make a response.

Thus experience in its cumulative aspects, whether in the case of the individual or of the group, is made up of an infinite number of smaller or larger units which begin with situations faced and are completed with the responses which are made to them. The unit of learning in the interpretation, enrichment, and control of experience is a situation carried through to its completed response.

THE SIZE OF THE UNITS OF LEARNING

It is at this point that we come upon a major problem in dealing with the unit of learning. This problem affects the size of the unit. When units of learning consist of situations carried through to completed responses, there is danger that we shall have an atomistic educational experience. The earliest experiments in basing education upon the experience of the learner have shown this tendency. The result has been a flitting from one situation to another in a touch-and-go superficiality.

Reflection, however, will demonstrate that this danger is no greater in the case of a technique of education based upon the experience of the learner than in the case of the techniques based upon instruction or training in traits and habits or skills. As a matter of fact, units of subject matter logically arranged within themselves have no necessary continuity in the experience of the learner. Nothing could be more atomistic than the traditional Uniform Lessons taught in church schools. One of the trage-

dies of secondary and college education has been the fact that in spite of every effort to correlate "subjects" in programs of study, the education of youth has tended much too often to be nothing more than a ledger account of accumulated credits toward graduation. Nothing could be more atomistic than the teaching of isolated abstract traits or skills.

It is clear that with little children the units of learning should be relatively small and not too closely integrated. The range of the child's capacity, like his experience, is very limited. But as the young advance in maturity and experience, it is obvious that they face larger and much more fundamental issues. As the capacity span lengthens, the range of comprehension widens, and experience deepens, the unit of learning should increase in size and complexity. With adolescents and adults the great fundamental issues of living and the network of problems that they carry with them are long-time issues demanding patient scrutiny, detailed investigation, and sustained experimentation in the practical conduct of life. These large issues will call for large and complex and long-time units, carrying the learner into historical processes, the organization of fundamental assumptions into a system of organized principles, the organization of a view of life, and the utilization of vast volumes of source material.

It would appear that at the beginning of each new age-level of experience there might well be an exploration of the major problems of that period, the arrangement of them in some sort of array for the purposes of orientation and perspective, and the ranking of them in relation to each other. In such an orientation exploration, there would be no attempt to deal exhaustively with these prob-

lems. It would appear equally necessary that after such an explorative survey of many units, there should be the lifting out of particular issues and situations for intensive, long-time, and adequate treatment. Thus an orientation exploration at the beginning, let us say, of the senior high school age would deal with the major issues of senior high school young people, such as vocation, boy and girl relationships, tensions with parents, etc. Then each of these situations would be elaborated into relatively long units as in the detailed and exhaustive pursuit of the choice of a vocation, with all of the subsidiary problems which such an investigation would require. These exploratory units we will designate as orientation units. These long-time investigations we will designate as integrated units.

Through this combination of orientation units for the purposes of exploration and comparison and charting and of the integrated units for the elaborate and adequate treatment of issues, the learner will have a cumulative and integrated educational experience that will introduce him to the fundamental issues of life in their relation to each other in a total and forward-moving personal and social experience.

THE TIME SCHEDULE

This conception of the unit of learning by no means does away with the time schedule. It does, however, greatly modify its use.

Order of units.—Unlike the arrangement of units of subject matter in a fixed time-schedule in a definite and fixed series, the order of the units of experience will be extremely flexible. In fact there will be no predetermined order. Even the most careful research cannot fix the or-

der. Research can show what units of experience one is likely to find in a normal group or person. But the final order will be determined by the experience of the person or of the group that is actually under way. This will be determined by the issues which the person or the group is actually facing. Even such a listing, without respect to order, which research may suggest, may not be the listing for a particular person or group. This listing and this order cannot be determined until the teacher confronts the group or person involved.

Covering the entire range of experience.—In a given unit of educational procedure, such as is involved in the kindergarten, the primary grades, the intermediate grades, the junior high school, the senior high school, the college, or the professional school, there will be a certain number of teaching opportunities. If the entire range of learner experience at a given age-level is to be lifted into consciousness, analyzed, judged, and brought to chosen outcomes, evidently there must be some allocation of available time so that each issue will receive the attention which its relative importance or difficulty demands. This necessitates some such organization of time and units as will insure that the learner or the learning group shall not overlook or neglect fundamental issues in the interest of the too intense pursuit of others.

A flexible schedule.—Within this larger set-up of a working program, however, there must be the greatest flexibility. The time spent upon one unit will depend upon the relative importance of the unit, the difficulty of mastering it, and the fruitful leads that develop out of it. Thus if the maturity and experience of the learning group is such that a unit yields easily and quickly to treatment,

it may be passed with a minimum of time. But if it is difficult of solution and develops an unexpected expansiveness, the group will tarry over it for a longer time. The time schedule is, therefore, less like a railroad schedule than it is like an engineer's program of procedure.

When a unit may be released.—From the standpoint of the time schedule, the completion of a given unit does not cut sharply, as when one unit of subject matter is "learned" and then left in order that another may be learned. The securing of insights, the development of appreciations, the experimentation with solutions in actual situations are *processes* that require time for maturing. A unit may not, therefore, be fitted precisely into a time schedule so that it may be dealt with and then dismissed in order that another may be taken up. No unit can finally be released until the learner can be counted upon and can count upon himself to make a right response to any similar situation. This requires time for maturing and testing in actual, not formal, situations. In the meantime, other units may be taken up for resolution while the old one is still in process. As a result, a number of units may be in various stages of resolution at the same time. The test of completion is the ability of the learner in actual life to meet and respond to similar situations with insight, understanding, critical judgment, and precise and dependable control.

CHAPTER V

THE DISCOVERY AND ORGANIZATION OF UNITS

If the unit of learning is to be thought of as an experience of the learner or the learning group moving from an identifiable situation through to an identifiable response, the first step in the organization of the teaching process in an actual teaching situation will be the discovery, selection, and organization of the vital situations which the learners face in their current experience.

THE SITUATIONS MUST BE LEARNER SITUATIONS

The situations to be dealt with must be real learner situations. Teachers will need to guard constantly against selecting the situations which are real and have meaning to them as mature persons rather than to the learners. They will also need to guard themselves against reading into learner experience their own problems and interpretations. If the learning process is to be real and educationally fruitful, it must start where the learner is in his own experience and help him face his issues. What may be a genuine issue for the adult counselor may not at all be a real and present issue to the immature learner, as a vital issue in the immature experience of the learner may not be an issue for the mature counselor.

Consequently, the teacher will need to assist the learners in discovering and organizing their own situations for educational treatment. Except in general and tentative ways, it will be impossible for the teacher to determine in

advance what these situations will be. The results of patient research may afford suggestions as to what the teacher may expect to find in any given group and may furnish rough criteria for judging whether the group, conducting a self-exploration under his guidance, is omitting any fundamental issues of which it may not be aware. Nevertheless, the results of research provide only general norms. A particular group composed of specific persons and having specific backgrounds may be facing issues materially different from the generalized experience of many groups living under widely variant conditions of environment. The array of units of learning can only be set up when the teacher is face to face with a particular group. Even then the final choice will not be exclusively a teacher choice, but a co-operative choice of teacher and learners exploring the concrete experience of the group together. The teacher will need to place at the disposal of the group techniques that have been found fruitful in discovering these vital issues of living.

TECHNIQUES FOR DISCOVERING SITUATIONS

Several techniques that are employed in research are available for this purpose. The experience of persons and groups is far from simple, and several approaches to experience are necessary if a valid picture is to be obtained.

Recording situations and responses.—One of the fruitful approaches to the discovery of experience is the recording objectively of situations that persons have faced and the responses which they have made to these situations. This is, in reality, a very limited case study. It records the exact situation and the exact response in terms of what was said and done without any attempt at

interpretation which would introduce the subjective element. It seeks, as far as they can be discovered, to recover the antecedent circumstances and the traceable consequences that extend beyond the immediate response to the situation. It will be well if the record of the situation and the response can be accompanied by information concerning the religious, racial, educational, economic, cultural, and residential backgrounds of the persons involved. It will also be revealing if the record is accompanied by a temperamental analysis of the person, arranged on a point scale with reference to the various personality traits.¹

Analysis of human relations.—On the face of it, it would seem that the collection of a large number of these situations and responses would give an adequate picture of the experience of a person or a group. But, as a matter of fact, this technique is quite selective. The reason for this is that one tends to observe those situations which for one reason or another are obtrusive. This is particularly true of abnormal situations, such as matters of discipline or behavior difficulties. The use of this instrument in a city school system showed a tendency for the situations to pile up around matters of honesty. Perfectly normal situations and perfectly normal responses tend to escape notice.

There is need, therefore, for some instrument to secure a non-selective observation over the entire range of the learners' experience. One of the most fruitful techniques for accomplishing this end has been the use of an instru-

¹ An illustration of this instrument is the *Instrument for Recording Situations*, published by the Department of Religious Education of the University of Chicago.

ment for the analysis of all the relationships in which a person is involved. The situations to which persons respond arise within these relations—to the physical world, in the family, in the school, in vocational life, in recreation, in civic functions, in the church, in play groups, in clubs and social groups, in labor organizations, in racial groups, in sex groups, and in relations of individual persons to individual persons.

The instrument which the author has used in his own research has laid down a background of social relations under four fundamental types of relations—of person to person, of person to group, of group to person, and of group to group. A crosshatch has been formed by placing upon these fundamental relations the various major groups within which the person is involved, as outlined in the foregoing paragraph. Then over the social background are run five screens through which the relations involved find expression. One screen consists of a list of activities, such as work, play, thinking, recreation, etc. A second screen consists of psycho-sociological factors, such as customs, beliefs, traditions, public opinion, fashion, etc. A third screen consists of the use of property, such as money, tools, toys, the radio, the automobile, etc. A fourth screen consists of the sociological wishes, such as the wish for recognition, the wish for security, the wish for new experience, etc. A fifth screen consists of a miscellany of factors, such as seeing another's point of view, conflict of loyalties, group adaptation, regard for personality, etc.¹

The function of the analysis technique is twofold. On

¹ *Instrument for Classification of Human Relations*, published by the Department of Religious Education of the University of Chicago.

the one hand it releases and stimulates observation by fixing attention, not upon experience in general, but upon very specific and very concrete situations which arise within these relationships. When one looks at experience in general, he tends to see it *en masse* and therefore to see nothing in particular. But when his attention is fixed upon these specific areas of relationship through these screens of activities, psycho-sociological factors, property, and wishes, he is immediately embarrassed by a wealth of very specific and very detailed situations to which persons have been seen to make responses of one sort or another. The other function of this technique is to secure a spread of observation over the entire range of the experience of the person or the group so that the result is non-selective. The use of the technique for recording situations together with the analysis technique yields a wealth of "cases" which may well furnish a variety of situations for educational treatment.

The interest analysis.—However, it would be possible to secure an extensive listing of observed situations and responses without securing an adequate picture of the experience of persons as persons or of groups as groups. After all, the teacher is not dealing primarily with situations and responses, but with *persons* who are making responses to situations. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, that the teacher and the group have some adequate understanding of the persons who constitute the learning group. Moreover, in keeping with the dynamic quality of personality discussed in chapter iii, it is necessary to secure a picture of these persons undergoing change, development, and growth. What one sees in studying a person is a *process*. Therefore any adequate

technique of discovery must take into account the changes and *nuances* in personal experience.

One of the most fruitful techniques for seeing the person whole and in process of change is the interest analysis. An instrument developed by the author in his own research will be illustrative of this technique as similarly used by other investigators. The importance of backgrounds for developing interests has led to the inclusion in this instrument of the religious, racial, educational, cultural, and residential factors described under the *Instrument for Recording Situations*. A study is then made of the intellectual interests of the person as indicated by his school subjects, his reading, and his observation of the objects in his physical and social environment. A study is made of his religious interests as suggested by his relation to organized religious institutions, his personal devotional life, the aspects of religious experience that give him the greatest difficulty and the greatest satisfaction, his view of the Bible, the genetic development of his religious experience, and his participation in humanitarian activities. His vocational interests are studied through his contemplation of choice of a vocation, his adjustment to his work, his efforts at vocational improvement, and any change in vocation. His food interest is studied. His recreational interests are gotten at through his active participation in sports and games, his passive enjoyment of amusements, and his use of free time. His manual skill interests are revealed through the tools he likes to use, his mechanical skills, and the things he chooses to do in free time. His aesthetic interests are manifest through his appreciation of art, dramatics, music, nature, and literature. His social and civic interests are studied through his attitudes to-

ward his own person, toward social groups, toward particular classes of people, toward the community. In each instance an inquiry is made into his dominant interest, the changes that have taken place in the interest through increase or decrease in that interest, the opportunities which his community has provided for the awakening and satisfaction of a particular interest, and the influence of persons and movements upon his interest. The inquiry is concluded by a study of the dominant interests, of those that have been thwarted, of the ideals he is most desirous of attaining, and of the antipathies which he has developed.

The life-history.—Even more important for the understanding of the continuous and forward movement of the experience of a person is the study of his life-history. Many of the present experiences can only be understood in the light of their antecedents, some of which lie hidden in the person's remote past. It is, therefore, quite as necessary for an understanding of a whole person to see his experience in its developmental aspects as to see it in cross-section at the present moment. The life-history technique inquires into the hereditary factors through at least two generations. It investigates his physical health record and the effects of any physical defects upon the rôle which he has played. It inquires concerning his personality traits as revealed by physical characteristics, mental characteristics, interests and capacities, religious experience, occupation, associates, temperament, his adjustment to his environment, and his psychiatric record. It studies the home conditions as they relate to economic and cultural status, as well as to the adjustment of the members of the family to each other. It secures a descrip-

tion of the community in which the person lives as respects the type of community, racial conditions, the standard of living and culture, the various cultural and social groups in the community, outstanding personalities in the community that have influenced his attitudes, changes of residence, and the general tone of community life. It makes provision for a statement of the person himself concerning his own personal history, especially with reference to the crisis or near-crisis experiences. It concludes with a diagnostic procedure in the light of the specific history of the person.¹

The time-activity analysis.—Another technique for discovering the experiences of persons is the time-activity analysis. This technique provides for going round the clock in making a record of the various things the person does and the amount of time consumed by each activity. When a sufficient period of time is covered and the sampling of seasonal activity is adequate, the time-activity analysis affords a quite accurate picture of the events and activities that compose a person's experience.

Co-operative self-exploration.—One of the most fruitful techniques for uncovering the experience of a group is a form of co-operative self-exploration. The first step in this technique is for the investigator or the teacher to establish rapport with the group so that their relations are friendly, understanding, and personal. In addition to the establishment of rapport, the group needs to be properly motivated for making the self-study from a sense of the importance of the undertaking. This latter is not difficult

¹ An illustration of this technique may be found in the *Instrument for Obtaining Life-History*, published by the Department of Religious Education of the University of Chicago.

to secure when the members of the group feel that they will be helped by the self-survey better to understand the issues that lie at the center of their experience, since these are the things in which they are most vitally interested.

A very good illustration of this technique is that used in the study of the recreational life of a group of high-school young people in a metropolitan center.¹ This study was carried on in connection with the regular work of the students in civics. The investigator became a member of the group, participating in the various activities of the young people. As a result of these relationships, the young people came to trust him as a friend and counselor, a trust that subsequent relations amply justified. He raised with them the question as to whether they would like to make a study of their own recreational life in view of the importance which recreation occupied in their experience. Their sense of the importance of the study to them led them readily and quite eagerly to enter upon the enterprise, as was evidenced by the fact that many more applied for entrance into the group than had been planned for.

The group itself chose a central committee to act with the investigator in planning the study and in formulating the steps of procedure from time to time. Every step was first planned by this committee and then submitted to the group before it was undertaken. The first inquiries were intended to discover leads which would point the way to further inquiry. A record by each person of what he did for recreation naturally led to a description of the various

¹ *A Study of the Recreational Interests of High School Young People*, by Kenneth L. Heaton, an unpublished report in the research files of the University of Chicago, 1929.

activities. These descriptions led to the clearing up of vague or ambiguous statements. Special problems arose at every stage of the study that required further probing. The young people were asked to offer their criticisms of the various forms of recreation in which they engaged. Reports were followed by personal interviews and life-histories. In this way the leads that were uncovered from time to time in the study were followed up until the group felt that it had gotten a real and adequate description of its own experience. When the study was completed and its implications were clear, a report of the findings was made to the total group. The young people were unwilling to relinquish the enterprise at its end, requesting that if possible the study be carried on to a solution of the problems which the study had uncovered and made clear to them.

The teacher of an orientation course for Freshmen in a western college used much the same technique for discovering the issues of the life of college Freshmen. He proposed to them that, in the light of the new experience which they were passing through, they make a co-operative study of the problems which they were facing. Having established personal relations with them, they undertook with him to list their problems. A promiscuous list was first made without any attempt at organization. When all the problems had been brought forward, an attempt was made to discover, if possible, some organization and sequence in them. The problems were then ranked according to the judgment of the Freshmen. They were then organized as a program for the orientation course. It is needless to say that the interest of the students was keen from the beginning. They were dealing

with reality—with the basic issues that constituted the focal points of their actual living.

This co-operative technique for the orientation of the group to the entire range of its problems is also appropriate for the elaboration of a larger, integrated unit into its constituent, subsidiary problems. This is the technique which the author himself uses in the development of his courses with his graduate classes at the university. The group spends the first session formulating the problem to which it will address itself during the course. A second session is devoted to a listing of the subsidiary problems which need to be cleared up before the group can come to clearness on its fundamental problem. A committee is chosen by the group to act with the instructor in organizing these problems into a structural sequence. This organization of problems is then submitted to the group for discussion, review, revision, and adoption. When adopted, it becomes the working program for the investigations of the course. This ad interim committee, or another appointed by the group for this special purpose, then acts with the instructor in breaking down each of the subsidiary problems into still smaller problems, in terms of agenda. Each agendum is submitted to the group in advance for criticism and review, after which, when adopted, it becomes the basis of the investigation of that particular problem. Each agendum carries with it sources from the literature of the field. The class then adjourns to the library to search the sources with the specific problems in mind. In its sessions the class brings its findings, works them over through a process of co-operative thinking, and reduces them to record in the form of findings which are adopted by vote of the total group.

Criteria for judging techniques of discovery.—The techniques of discovery here suggested are in no sense intended to be exhaustive. They are techniques which have been used with success in getting at the experiences of persons and groups, both for formal research investigations and in actual teaching situations. They are illustrative of very many variations the description of which space does not permit. Resourceful teachers who conceive their task in engineering terms will devise many fruitful ways of helping their groups to discover their fundamental situations and the issues that are involved in them so that they may face them in a teaching situation which calls for reflective thinking and the utilization of the best tested experience of the race. The situation created by the facing of issues as problems is a thinking situation which sets the learner in the midst of an opportunity, throws him upon his own responsibility, and evokes from him such creativeness as he possesses when released from set tasks and set upon a quest for outcomes of thinking and appreciation that are felt by him to be worthful in the interpretation, enrichment, and control of his own experience.

There are, however, certain criteria which the teacher will do well to keep in mind in the utilization of whatever techniques he may, with his group, deem best. The first is that the learner should be taken fully into his confidence. It is, after all, the learner's experience that is the basis of the educative process, and the function of the teacher is to guide and counsel rather than to dominate him or to make choices for him. The second criterion is objectivity. One of the chief results of learning will be the ability on the part of the learner to objectify his own experience and

the experience of the group of which he is a member, so as to assess it on the basis of fact. A third criterion is that the selection should be non-selective in that it does not deal with a few intense immediate interests to the neglect of others that are fundamental in any intelligent living. A fourth criterion is that the learner shall see these situations and their issues in their relation rather than in an atomistic manner, as will certainly happen if problems and issues are dealt with in isolation. It is from this seeing of experience whole and from judging concerning the relative worth of its several aspects that the learner will arrive at his sense of values and some integrated view of his experience. A fifth criterion will take account of the capacities, the maturity, and the experience of the learners. Little children, on account of their limited interest and experience span, will need more guidance in making decisions than mature and experienced students. However, the teacher must guard himself against underestimating the capacities of children. Even very young children face issues that are very real to them on the level of their experience, and they are capable of thinking in very real ways about these issues when given assistance and concrete materials with which to think.

RAISING UNCONSCIOUS ISSUES

It is in connection with assisting learners to discover their own situations that the educator encounters a special problem. Everyone who is conversant with the experience of persons and groups knows that there are likely to be certain issues that for one reason or another never get into consciousness. Objective observation demonstrates that in many instances these may be of the most

fundamental and vital character. It is the function of the teacher to assist the learner in becoming conscious of these issues.

Factors that prevent issues from getting into consciousness.—There are a number of factors that may prevent issues from getting into the consciousness of the learner. One factor is a constrained and impoverished social environment. While vital education must begin with immediate interests, it is equally important that it should not end there. The richness and completeness of personal experience, as Henry Churchill King some time ago pointed out, depends upon the perception and fulfilment of multiple relations, and growth may be measured by the increase in the number and complexity of these relationships.¹ Provincialism is a direct frustration of a satisfactory and adequate experience. A person whose life is cast, therefore, in a constricted and impoverished environment may not have the opportunity of facing the issues of the larger world. He will not be conscious of the issues of the larger and richer and more stimulating environment simply because they are not present in his limited world.

Another factor may be the competition of other and more intense interests. Life is very complex and some interests and issues are extremely immediate and intense. The fixation of attention upon one immediate and intense issue may blind it to other issues that are no less fundamental to a complete and adequate experience. Or, if these neglected issues are seen at all, they may be distorted. This fixation of attention at the expense of other factors may be observed in the play of little children. A

¹ *Rational Living*, p. 9.

child intent upon the recovery of his ball rushes into the street oblivious of the fact of approaching automobiles. It is equally observable in business and professional men who are so intent upon their immediate specialties that they are quite oblivious of other interests. A mathematician is reported to have been so engrossed in the solution of an intricate problem that he forgot his wedding day and was only roused to the situation by friends who hastened from the weeping bride at the altar to remind him of his oversight. Professors are proverbially absent-minded!

Early conditionings of experience are important factors in keeping certain situations out of mind. This is particularly true of the emotional conditioning which attaches to unpleasant experiences. Such situations are thereafter unconsciously avoided. The psychoanalyst finds the telltale evidence of such an experience in one's inability to recall a name or a place or a date. He finds another evidence of this avoidance in slips in speech in which the person uses exactly the opposite word from that which he intended to use. He also finds in word associations the evidence of such unpleasant experiences that have been "put out of mind."

If the early conditioning has not led to avoidance of the situation, it may have resulted in such a prejudiced attitude toward it that it is all but impossible for the person to see the event objectively. Once these prejudices have been formed, the mind comes at the situation involved slantwise and never straightforwardly. This result, of course, incapacitates the learner for facing the issue squarely and factually.

Still further, earlier conditionings may have led to a

solution of the situation which has the effect of closing it to further study. The issue has been prematurely and superficially closed. More of our daily experience than most of us would care to admit takes on this character. Having reached closed solutions, experience rides smoothly over these fundamental issues without ever realizing that they are issues. The child is born into a society which has solutions for most of our problems. The child takes these over ready-made, with the result that he may never face the issues involved or come to a rational and valid personal judgment about them. One of the most important functions of education is to get these solutions considered in the light of the facts of life.

Social pressure of various types has the effect of keeping issues out of consciousness. The mores of the group, fashions and fads, drifts of the group mind, and public opinion—all these form rims to the mind of the individual which keep out of the bounds of conscious thinking many of the essential problems that lie at the basis of complete living. These pressures themselves operate for the most part without the person affected being conscious of them. Sometimes these are very vividly felt, and the more or less deliberately excluded issues hang like a fringe about the field of consciousness. A local clergyman was asked by his bishop to put in writing his reasons for favoring a measure that the bishop wished to see put through. The clergyman replied that he had seven good reasons for favoring the bishop's scheme. When asked confidentially by a colleague what the seven reasons were, the clergyman replied, "My wife and six children!"

But most important and difficult of all, perhaps, is repression into the unconscious in cases in which status

or self-interest are involved. This is particularly true in cases in which economic, racial, or cultural status are involved. This phenomenon is particularly involved in such matters as race. The Nordic finds it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to face the scientific facts concerning race because in the offing of his mind is the "rising tide of color." The capitalist finds it difficult to realize that there is a problem of the distribution and control of wealth because his inherited interest is bound up with the economic *status quo*. Matters which affect the opinion which others may hold of one tend to be suppressed, as in matters of sex and of personal defects or shortcomings. In all such instances, in which persons are afraid or unwilling to face reality, the issues tend to be thrust down into the unconscious, where they are carefully guarded by the censor. From these hidden depths they find expression only in indirect ways, such as daydreaming, rationalization, fantasy, and compensation. In extreme cases of repression, only the technique of the psychiatrist can uncover the suppressed experience.

Techniques for discovering unconscious issues.—Whatever the factors that keep issues from rising into the conscious experience of learners, education needs to develop techniques for discovering them and assisting the learner to face them factually. This aspect of the educative process is so new that techniques for use in normal educational situations remain to be worked out. The techniques that have thus far been elaborated are concerned almost entirely with those issues that are in the consciousness of the learner.

Nevertheless, there are procedures that have proved fruitful in dealing with many of these unconscious issues

in normal teaching situations. One approach is through the enrichment of the meager environment through the extension of contacts, excursions, the bringing in of persons outside the group, and the comparison of the group's experience with the experience of other groups. In ways such as these the meager community is set in the larger community whose relations and problems are much more representative of what one may expect to meet in the course of an expanded experience.

Another is the following out of implications in a given situation. Experience is so completely interrelated that it coheres in patterns, like the intricate design of a tapestry. For this reason it does not much matter at what point one begins in the explorations of experience. If the implications that radiate out from the starting-point are followed out far enough, they are certain to bring to light in time all the other aspects of experience. A "better" family of the "superior" white race was brought to a vivid realization of the interrelatedness and interdependence of the races through a disease communicated from the family of the colored laundress. It is by following these subtle threads that the psychiatrist is able to discover the submerged repressions and complexes that are bound up with those aspects of experience that are out in the open.

The presentation of a "case" is one of the best procedures in helping persons to face issues that they would be unwilling to face if their own experience were too directly involved. A consummate illustration of the use of this technique is found in the approach of the prophet Nathan to King David after the king had become involved in an illicit sex experience which ended in the murder of the woman's husband. It is not difficult to imagine how the

interview would have ended had Nathan reproved the king directly for his moral lapse. Instead, the prophet confronted the king with a "case" in which his personal wrongdoing was objectified, the "case" of a poor man and his only ewe lamb which had been ruthlessly seized by a rich and powerful neighbor. Viewed objectively, the king saw his wrongdoing for what it was and penitently recognized the injustice and unworthiness of it.

In extreme cases, however, it should be recognized that only the psychiatrist is competent to explore the unconscious. Teachers ought to recognize clearly the limitations of the layman's functions in working with the unconscious. In extreme or pathological cases this is clearly the function of the professional practitioner, and should not be attempted by laymen. It is significant that there is an increasing number of educational institutions that include a competent psychiatrist on the staff. This is a trend that is certain to become more general as the importance of the unconscious in personal experience is better appreciated.

THE SELECTION AND ORGANIZATION OF UNITS

Selection and organization of units necessary.—It is obvious that the discovery of the situations which the learner and the learning group face is only the first step in arriving at a program of procedure. If the educational experience is not to be atomistic and haphazard, these situations must be organized into some fruitful program of procedure that will be sequential and cumulative and that in the end will result in some coherent and comprehensive view of each issue in its relation to the whole.

Proceeding on the assumption that learning must take place in concrete situations, it is manifestly impossible, if

it were desirable, to deal educationally with every concrete experience. For one thing, time does not permit. There are innumerable situations to be dealt with in the course of one's life. The number of teaching opportunities is limited. Fortunately, by generalizing the results of learning in concrete situations, a process to be described in chapter ix, it is possible greatly to reduce the number of situations dealt with directly.

Criteria for selecting situations.—It becomes necessary, therefore, to set up certain criteria on the basis of which situations will be selected for educational treatment. The first criterion, on the assumptions of the preceding discussion, is that the situations selected shall be *real* to the learner. These situations, as was suggested in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, must be the situations confronted by learners and not situations confronted by teachers.

They should be representative. If representative situations are selected, it will be possible so to generalize their outcomes that wide ranges of typical issues will be brought into view, so that the number of units that can be dealt with within the limits of the teaching opportunities will be manageable. By the use of representative situations, it will also be possible to deal with the entire range of the learner's experience. An understanding and mastery of the issues of living cannot be guaranteed by random selection. The samplings to be subjected to educational treatment should be consciously and critically made with a view to bringing all the fundamental issues of experience into view at one time or another in the learning process, and in some sense of relationship to each other and to the whole.

Situations selected should be problematical. Some

situations are too obvious and too routine to merit educational attention. Attention should be focused upon those situations that involve real issues. This is the condition of reflective thinking, of evaluation, and of choice, the qualities of an experience that lift it to a creative level.

Other things being equal, those situations should be selected which are rich in content. Some experiences are thin and their significance is quickly exhausted. Others are weighted with meaning and have far-reaching significance. Not least significant in the matter of content is the vast amount of racial experience which a situation is capable of absorbing.

Ranking the situations.—It is not enough that situations selected out of the mass of experiences for educational treatment shall be listed. They now need to be ranked in some sort of array that will give them sequence and integration and will render them cumulative. It is through some such process as this that the entire range of experience is seen in its totality and the problems that are involved in it are viewed in their relation to each other and to the whole. The absence of this comparative and comprehensive judgment has been one of the greatest weaknesses of traditional education. Traditional educational procedure, for the most part, has developed no technique for enabling growing persons to secure a total and comparative view of their entire experience.

As this process of comparative judgment is perhaps the basic factor in integration, so it is also one of the basic factors in appreciation without which education remains a coldly intellectualistic affair, quite removed from the springs of practical action and the emotional elements that give warmth and color to experience.

Organizing the units for teaching purposes.—Once the units have been selected and ranked, it becomes necessary to organize each of them for actual teaching use. This will involve judgments as to the best way in which to approach a given unit in a teaching situation, as to how to set it up for analysis and resolution, and as to the best ways for carrying it through into actual conduct control. This procedure, obviously, will get its general pattern from the steps of learning and of guidance to be outlined in chapters vii and xi. The author's own procedure described earlier in this chapter will serve as one illustration of the concrete forms which such an organization of a teaching unit may assume.

CHAPTER VI

CONDITIONING RESPONSES

Up to this point we have considered the nature of experience and, on the basis of the nature of experience, the nature of the unit of learning. We have also considered the technique for the discovery, the selection, and the organization of units for actual teaching situations. We are now in a position to inquire into the process by which the learner can be assisted in the achievement of a moral and spiritual personality through these experiences. In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is clear that this will come about through the intelligent and purposive modification by the learner of the responses which he makes to the specific situations which his material and social world present to him. Moral and spiritual personality are the result of selective behavior. It is now necessary to discover the technique of selective behavior.

LEVELS OF RESPONSE

At the outset of this inquiry it will be necessary to recur to the discussion in chapter iii and consider again the levels upon which response takes place. Of these there are two—the mechanical reflex and purposive thinking.

The mechanical reflex.—The simplest and lowest forms of responses take place on the level of the mechanical reflex. These responses are set up at birth. They rest upon a mechanism that operates with unvarying precision, as certain in its results as the ignition of gas in an automobile

cylinder head. Many of these reflexes are very simple, as the contraction of the pupil of the eye in the presence of bright light. These are very definite and fixed responses to very definite stimuli.

Other of these responses are more complex, more indefinite responses to more complex and less definite situations, such as food and sex activities. It has been the custom of an older psychology to identify these larger and more indefinite responses as instincts. The more recent tendency in psychology has been to see in these larger responses the integration of smaller reflex units arranged in a more or less complex sequential series, the first reflex setting off the second, the second the third, and so on until the complete response has been consummated.

Consciousness and purpose have little or nothing to do with these reflexive responses. Where consciousness is present at all, it follows rather than precedes the overt act. In the more complex types of reflexive behavior, consciousness, in so far as it is present, tends to disarrange the reaction pattern, as in the case of the pedestrian who stops to think and becomes confused when startled by the horn of an approaching automobile. The difference between the quick and the dead is that the dead were not quick.

This is the basis of the mechanistic behavior psychology. To the radical behaviorist, the human organism is a pure mechanism reacting in perfectly definite and predetermined ways to stimuli. The behaviorist holds that if all the conditions were fully known, it would be possible accurately to predict what an organism, either animal or human, will do in any given situation. This is, as far as can now be ascertained, the basis on which animals on the

whole respond to their world, though there is some indication that there is a fringe of conscious and even rudimentary reflective thinking on the part of animals, as in the case of Kropotkin's bear that made an eddy with its paw in order to bring food within its reach, or of the orientation flight of bees. Nevertheless, animal behavior has never been able to break through the hard and resisting crust of reflexive behavior to conscious and intelligent purpose. Human nature is equipped with as many of these reflex patterns as are animals, and many varieties of human behavior take place on this level. This is man's inheritance from his prehuman ancestry.

Habit.—Habit conforms to the reflex pattern. This is true of all overt forms of behavior that have their origin in reflexive response and have become established in their permanent form through repetition, use, and satisfaction. It is also true of those forms of behavior that have their origin in thinking and purpose but which, once adopted as forms of executive action, are relegated to the mechanical and unconscious level, such as throwing an outcurve in baseball or typewriting. Once they have been learned through analysis and practice, they are better executed when they are done unconsciously. The centipede got on very well until he stopped to think which foot came after which, whereupon he fell hopelessly into the ditch!

The reflective-purposive level.—As was pointed out in chapter iii, human nature is equipped with a much wider range of capacities for responding to situations than are animals. Human beings possess an organic structure, as Professor Herrick has shown, that makes possible the suspense of the response, the filling up of the interval of delay with consciousness, with analysis, with reflective

thinking, with the evaluation of possible courses of action, and with the making of deliberate choices. That is, man is capable of *selective behavior*. Mechanistic behaviorism fails to take account of all the factors that enter into human responses. And, what is still more important, it fails to take account of the most significant factors in human behavior.

A technique, therefore, for assisting learners to modify their responses to the situations which they face must take account of these higher capacities to which human nature has attained. It needs to see that while man shares much with his prehuman ancestors, the most significant aspects of his life—the aspects that make him human—are the wide distances in capacities that differentiate him from animals. These are the factors that make creative experience possible and account for the achievements of science, industry, social organization, literature, art, and religion. After all human beings are not rats, but men!

THE CONDITIONED REFLEX

Experimental psychology has worked out a technique for modifying the responses that animals and human beings make to the stimuli of their environment on the level of the reflex. This technique is known as the conditioned reflex.

The technique of the conditioned reflex.—The conditioned reflex is accomplished by a shift of association from one stimulus and its response to another stimulus and the same response. The earliest experiments in this technique were carried out by Pavlov on dogs. The sight of food produced a flow of saliva. Then at the same time food was presented a bell was rung. The simultaneous presenta-

tion of the two stimuli was continued for a time. Then, when the food was removed and the bell alone was rung, the flow of saliva occurred just the same as when food alone was presented. The same result may be secured through a number of association shifts provided that it is made step by step and without a break in the series of stimuli. Thus, when stimulus *A* is presented it will secure the unconditioned response. If stimulus *A* and stimulus *B* are presented together over a sufficient time, *B* will secure the same response when *A* is withdrawn. If stimulus *B* and stimulus *C* are then presented together, *C* will secure the same result when *B* is withdrawn. So also with *C* and *D*. So that, in time, stimulus *D* will secure the same response as stimulus *A*. The response to *B*, *C*, and *D* would then be conditioned responses.

The psychological laboratory shows the same result in human beings. The pupil of the eye responds in an unconditioned manner by dilation to a lessened intensity of light. If at the same time that the intensity of the light is lessened a bell is rung, and these two stimuli continue to be presented simultaneously for a period of time, the pupil will dilate at the ringing of the bell without the lessening of the intensity of the light. So also releasing a hammer near the eye causes a person to wink. But if a buzzer is sounded simultaneously with the release of the hammer, and they continue long enough together, the sounding of the buzzer will produce the wink when the hammer is not released.

The conditioned reflex the technique of animal training.
—The conditioned reflex is one of the fundamental techniques for the training of animals. The other fundamental technique for training animals is to follow a desired

response by satisfaction and an undesired response by annoyance or positive pain. By a combination of these techniques wild animals are tamed, "educated" animals are taught to do tricks, and domestic animals are "broken" to do menial tasks.

The conditioned reflex an important factor in human behavior.—The conditioned reflex is no less important in human behavior. It is the technique upon which radical behaviorism would base its entire procedure in education. Stimuli are rearranged in keeping with the purposes of the educator. Through the modifications that occur in behavior the educator consciously accomplishes the kind of responses he desires, since human beings behave as they do.

With equal importance from the standpoint of education, these conditionings may take place in all sorts of unconscious ways, either on the part of the parent or teacher or of the child himself. For example, it is now quite well established that children are not naturally afraid of the dark. But in many cases, through stories they hear about the dark or the communicated fears of their elders, they become afraid of the dark. Children, if well, will naturally go to sleep without attention. But they may be so conditioned that it is necessary for them to be rocked or taken up before they will sleep. Aversions to food and persons are created in the same manner. A child kept after school for not getting his lessons is very apt to associate his punishment with school itself, so that he comes to dislike school. A child that is punished after confessing that he has told an untruth so that he will remember not to tell an untruth again is very likely to associate his punishment with having confessed, so that thereafter he will go on lying but will not again confess his

fault. Little children probably have no antagonism toward children of another race, but only curiosity at that which is different. Through the conditionings that they take over from their elders they are likely to think of their brothers of other races and cultures in derogatory terms weighted with attitudes of superiority.

Frances G. Wickes records the instance of a boy that was brought to her for treatment. He was failing in school and his reports were growing more and more unsatisfactory. Though a fine and manly-looking young man, in the presence of his mother he showed a tendency to revert to childish attitudes. It was evident that the boy had been thoroughly conditioned by some form of parental difficulty. Attention was therefore turned from the boy to the mother. Upon tracing back the case history, it was discovered that the mother had a brother to whom she was greatly attached but who had completely failed in his adjustment to life. She had been seized by the fear that if she were to become the mother of a son he, too, would fail. For her daughters she entertained no such fear. But when her son was born her first remark was, "He is a boy; he will fail." Throughout the early years of his childhood, the mother had surrounded the boy with her fear. She had unconsciously placed upon him a burden of disappointment and anxiety beyond his powers. This conditioning of insecurity and inferiority was brought to a climax when a wholesale test was administered in the school by a tester who was more concerned with statistics than with persons. This tester sent the boy home with an unsealed report which read, "Doing as well as he can with his grade of mentality."¹

¹ *The Inner World of Childhood*, pp. 43 ff.

The responsibility of those who order the early years of childhood.—These facts place great responsibility upon those who order the life of early childhood, especially parents and the teachers of little children. On the basis of such results as have been suggested, there are many who believe that the first three years of childhood are the most determinative years of a person's life. During these very early years, when the child is making his first responses to his world, he is being conditioned in ways that often set permanent patterns for the remainder of his life.

The conditioned reflex a training technique.—The conditioned reflex, however, is essentially a technique appropriate to education as training. It consists fundamentally of the manipulation of the environment of the growing person so that he will react in ways that are predetermined by his adult masters. It results in something that is done *to* the learner and *for* him, not something that is done *in* him and *through* him. The child remains as plastic clay, molded to the will of the potter. He is, as the older instructionists put it in their psychological theory, "formed" from without. What results from such a system of training may be the achievement of his trainers, but it cannot be the achievement of a growing and self-realizing person.

THE CONDITIONED RESPONSE ON A PURPOSIVE LEVEL

These earliest experiments with the conditioned reflex by no means exhausted the educational possibilities of the conditioned response when expanded so as to include the entire response of persons to the various aspects of their world. When the response as well as the situation is in-

cluded in the span of the conditioning process and when the person himself through intelligence, reflective thinking, evaluation, and the choosing of outcomes modifies his responses to this world, the conditioning of responses takes on educational possibilities of the most far-reaching significance. For this becomes the process by which self-conscious persons change their impulsive and naïve responses into responses which they desire. Through the conditioning process, purposively directed from within, behavior becomes selective.

The association shift.—The psychological mechanism through which the conditioned response operates is the association shift. The relationship that exists between a stimulus and its reaction or between a situation and its response constitutes a “bond” or connection so that when one member of the situation-response pattern occurs the other tends to occur with it.

The most elementary form of this connection, as we have just had occasion to see, is a mechanical reflex. So perfectly organized is this bond at birth that when the perfectly definite and recurrent situation is presented, a perfectly definite and characteristic reaction occurs, as in the contraction of the pupil of the eye with the increase of the intensity of light, or the shrinking of a very young child upon being suddenly lowered, or swallowing when food is taken in the mouth. As we have also seen, when compounded, these reflexes take on more complex patterns, frequently known as “instincts.” Whether reflexes or instincts, these connections are unlearned in their unconditioned form, and are characteristic of the species. These reflexive bonds may be conditioned in ways described in the foregoing discussion.

But, as we have also had occasion to see, in human experience connections between situations and responses are consciously, intelligently, and purposively formed, so that, within limits, one chooses what sort of response he will make to a given situation. These connections are not set up at birth. They are learned. In their highest form, the person himself learns what sorts of responses he wishes to make to the situations that confront him.

But whether they are unlearned and native or learned, either unconsciously or on purpose, each response is joined to its appropriate stimulus or situation by an association. Changes take place in these responses when the association is shifted from the original stimulus and its response to another. This is accomplished in the conditioned reflex, as we have seen, by shifting the association from one stimulus to another, keeping the response constant. In this way the pupil of the eye can be contracted either by the increase in the intensity of light or the sounding of a buzzer. In that case the response, the contraction of the pupil, has been held constant, but the association has been shifted from the stimulus of intense light to the sounding of a buzzer. In the same way the stimulus can be kept the same, at least in the case of human beings, and a different response secured. In that case the association has been shifted from one response to another. When both the response and the stimuli are brought into the process, the possible shifts between stimuli and responses become very numerous—as complex as the most intelligent and selective behavior.

Responding to different elements in the situation.—In human behavior the situations to which persons respond are complex—in some instances extremely so. They in-

volve many factors in endless varieties of combinations. Consequently, when broken down into its constituent elements, a complex situation is capable of evoking a wide variety of responses, according as to whether the response is now to this or now to that element of the situation. As far as the situation is concerned, the conditioning of the response depends upon the breaking down of the situation into its component parts and in selecting the aspect to which the response shall be made.

It is in just this lack of analysis that non-selective behavior consists, as far as the situation is concerned. The naïve, unanalytic person tends to respond to the situation *en masse*. He does not see it in its relationship of parts, but as a blur in which the several elements are indistinguishable. As a result his response is general, blurred, and lacking in precision. This failure to discriminate with reference to the several elements in the situation is the basis of fuzzy-minded thinking and uncritical and unreliable conduct. Seeing everything in general, the person sees nothing in particular.

At the extreme opposite of this confused type of response is a response that is based upon a discriminating analysis of all the identifiable elements in the situation. In this complex of factors, one may be essential while the others are concomitant or irrelevant. Discriminating analysis is able to seize upon the essential factor and to disregard the irrelevant. In this way, while the response is, in a way, to the total situation, it is with specific reference to a specific aspect of it. As a result the response is definite, specific, and certain. In the translation of a Latin sentence, accuracy, to say nothing of the fine shades of meaning, depends upon the ability of the translator to

discriminate with reference to verb and case endings—very slight details, indeed, in the total sentence. The unskilful translator, failing to recognize these fine differences of endings is forced to guess at the meaning of the sentence, fumbling with the meaning until he gets some “sense” out of the confused jumble of words. It is just this ability to discriminate with reference to small details in the situation that makes the difference between the expert and the amateur. Difficulty developed in a complicated piece of machinery. The local engineers could not locate the difficulty after much “feeling around” in the mechanism. Being forced to abandon the problem as too baffling, the expert from the factory was sent for. After listening for a moment to the mechanism, the expert tapped upon a vital point. In the midst of what to the amateur was only a confusion of many sounds, he discriminated the essential one. By dealing with it and disregarding all the others, the difficulty was instantly remedied. In due time the local firm received the following bill:

For expert service..... \$100.00

Feeling that the bill was excessive for apparently small service, the firm protested the bill and asked for an itemized statement. The itemized statement read:

For tapping..... \$ 1.00

For knowing where to tap..... 99.00

Total..... \$100.00

That is precisely the point! For *knowing where to tap!*

Responding to the situation in different ways.—The second step in the conditioning of the total response consists in breaking down the *response* into its possible outcomes.

The naïve person tends to see the outcomes to a situation in the same general and indiscriminating way as he tends to see the factors in the situation. Failing to see that there are usually many ways in which one may respond to a situation, he is likely to seize upon the first one that occurs to him. This may be the result of a "hunch" as to the best outcome. More likely, it will be a solution taken over from the social group without criticism. Early conditionings, as was suggested in the preceding chapter, may blind the person to more than one outcome. The premature closing of the situation to further thinking may have made habit the determinant of the sole, unreflective outcome.

Now, discriminating and selective behavior breaks down the response into all its possible outcomes, just as it breaks down the situation into all its essential factors, through analysis. It sees the response, not as a blur of possible outcomes, but as a group of identifiable outcomes, each differing from the other. It weighs these outcomes from the standpoint of their effectiveness and from the standpoint of their social, ethical, and spiritual quality. On the basis of these criteria, it chooses the one that best fits the facts and that in the light of its consequences for personal and social well-being, as measured by the standards of racial experience and the demands of the present situation, seems best.

In this way the association shift plays over a wide range of factors in the situation when broken down into its essential elements, and over a wide range of possible outcomes when the response is similarly broken down into its elements. In the learned response, the factor in the situation to which response is made may be entirely different from the one to which the original response was

made. In like manner, the final, reflective, and purposed response may be quite other than the original one. Through this process of dual analysis, a selected factor in the situation is associated with a selected outcome among the possible outcomes. Thus, through the association shift, a selected factor in the situation is consciously and purposively attached to a selected outcome in what constitutes selective behavior.

So much for the psychological mechanism of selective behavior, working through the conditioning of the total human response by means of the association shift. Perhaps it will make the process clearer if we now trace the process through a typical case of human behavior, such as is involved, let us say, in a racial situation. It is quite probable that the initial, unconditioned response of a little child of one race to a person of another race would be one of curiosity and exploration. But in a situation such as race, one comes upon the fact that the response to the member of another race has already been unconsciously conditioned. Through group conflict involving economic advantage and social status, the group of which the learner is a member has already built up certain attitudes of superiority, suspicion, or antagonism. It is likely, therefore, that the inexperienced learner will see in the member of another race wide differences of color, physiognomy, speech, and manners. Conditioned by the attitudes of his social group, he is likely to feel a profound sense of superiority, to avoid all contact, and perhaps to feel a deep and positive antagonism approaching hatred. These attitudes are expressed in such designations as "dago," "wop," "Jap," or "nigger." As a matter of fact, this is the prevalent attitude of the Nordic toward the colored races of the world. And because this is the re-

sponse, we have the race problem in its manifold unsocial and unchristian forms. It is clear that this initial response is to a very limited and superficial group of factors in the situation, and that the response has exhausted only a very limited range of the possibilities of conduct and social attitudes.

Now the educator in seeking to secure a social and ethical response to a race situation will proceed according to the technique outlined in the foregoing—by use of the association shift. The teacher will introduce intelligence into the situation by helping the learner to discover the facts concerning race. In the light of the findings of anthropology, the learner will discover that the differentia of race are really quite superficial. The learner will understand that at the beginning there was probably but one central stock from which all races, including the one to which the learner belongs, were differentiated through a long process of adjustment to environmental conditions. Through a knowledge of the facts of psychology, he will come to understand that the differences in the mental capacities of the different races is not as great as is generally supposed. He will come to understand that cultures must be judged against their backgrounds of social development and that they are “higher” or “lower” chiefly in the light of the opportunities for development in stimulating environments. Through an understanding of the contributions which the various races have made to the culture development of mankind, he will come to an appreciation of the various types of culture and of the enrichment that comes to the total achievement of the human spirit through these various streams of culture. The teacher will help the learner to discover the fact that in adjusting himself to a member of another race he is

responding to one who, like himself, is a *person* with aspirations, capacities, and a human destiny to achieve. Through the social sciences the teacher will help the learner to see that both are responsible members of a society whose soundness is involved in the kinds of persons they both become and in the contributions which they both will make to it. In such ways as these the educator will help the learner to see the fact of race, not as a simple and superficial blur of color, but as a very complex group of physical, mental, moral, social, and spiritual facts, none of which may be overlooked.

In the same way the educator will help the learner to break down his response to the member of another race into all its possible outcomes and to judge them in their relation to the facts of race. The easy and quick response of superiority by no means exhausts the possible outcomes. He may avoid his brother of another race. He may fear the member of another race and the possible influence such a person may have upon his economic or social status. Or he may positively hate him and seek every opportunity to injure him. The latter alternatives are matters of frequent record where races are thrown into intimate contact or into economic or political competition. Or he may seek to put the problem of adjustment away from him by making the most of an impossible situation, but with an unreconciled and an unwilling spirit. On the other hand, through understanding and appreciation, he may respect his brother of another race for what he is in his own right and for what he is capable of contributing to the larger culture of the race. It is possible that he will develop an attitude of positive good will in which he will seek whole-heartedly to co-operate in every possible way with his brothers of all races

in the furthering of the common good and of the good of each. So that the outcome of this particular adjustment to a concrete racial situation may be a generalized attitude of good will and co-operation with all races of whatever color and culture, recognizing that all races are comprehended within the all-encompassing scope and movement of human living.

Clearly what has happened in this conditioning of the response is that the situation has been analyzed into all its component factors and the essential ones seized upon; that the response has been analyzed into its possible outcomes and the one judged to be best seized upon; and that in the light of both factors and outcomes, essential factor and essential outcome have been associated together in intelligent, purposive, and selective behavior. In the same manner the educator would proceed in helping the learner to analyze the situation and the response involved in the choice of a vocation, the situations involved in boy and girl relationships, the situations involved in conflicts with parents, and every other situation to which a selective response is made.

THE RECONDITIONING OF RESPONSES

In discussing the process involved in conditioning responses in selective behavior, we have already run upon the fact that the conditioning process is in reality a process of *reconditioning*. Unconscious conditioning begins with the beginnings of experience. So that by the time the learner has arrived at a conscious awareness of his experience it has already been modified in more or less permanent ways. Certain solutions have been taken over from the mores of the group of which he is a member. Other situations have been prematurely and superficially

closed by easy and quick solutions. Habits have already formed rims around the mind from which potential thought rebounds in upon itself. Unpleasant experiences have charged certain situations with emotion so that it is difficult to face them on a factual basis. Acting upon prejudice and accepted custom, one may be perfectly sure that he knows the right outcome to a situation, although he has never faced reality with reference to it at all. Even those of us who like to believe that we have no prejudices will find, if we search with diligence, many dark places in our experience where we have never faced the issues of living on any realistic basis of fact, analysis, and critical judgment.

Thus it turns out that much of education, particularly education for social and moral idealism, must be, unfortunately but inevitably, *re*-education. It would be a great gain if the educator could start with the very first responses of the newborn child to his world. But that cannot be. As he comes to the task of education for character, he finds a set of ideas, attitudes, impulses, and habits already set up or in process of being set up. And, since the world into which children are born is far from being an ideal world, many of these ideas, attitudes, and habits need to be reconstructed before the good life and the spiritual life can be achieved.

These considerations cannot be too strongly emphasized with parents and teachers who in any way are responsible for the earliest years of childhood. In these unconscious years of childhood much of the enduring foundation of permanent character is being laid. It is of the utmost importance for education that from earliest infancy the movement of experience shall be in the general direction of the ideals, the habits, and the purposes

of the good life. Character should be the result of an uninterrupted and cumulative growth process.

SELF-CONDITIONING

If persons are to realize themselves through creative experience, if personality of a moral and spiritual type is to be an achievement, then it is obvious that the modifications of the responses which they make to the situations which life presents to them must be self-conditioned.

If the conditioned reflex in its earlier and narrow usage offers the basis for an appropriate technique for education as training, the conditioned response in its wider implications as the shifting of the bonds of conduct between selective factors in the situation and selective factors in the response is the appropriate basis for a technique of education as creative experience. It is the technique of selective behavior. It rests upon consciousness of the issue involved, upon a critical analysis of the situation and its outcomes, upon critical evaluation through weighing values and forming judgments, upon definite choice, and upon the experimental testing of outcomes in practical experience. From the point of view of education as creative experience, the primary function of education is to place in the hands of the learner the techniques for carrying through these processes. This is self-conditioning. This procedure utilizes his capacity to think, to take an objective and factual attitude toward his experience, to form an emerging scale of values through discriminating choices, and to organize his choices into a dominant life-purpose. When the learner has mastered these techniques, experience has become creative and character has reached the level of achievement.

CHAPTER VII

THE STEPS OF SELF-LEARNING

Having broken experience down into its component factors and having analyzed the process by which the response to a given situation may be modified through self-conditioning, we are now ready to explore in somewhat greater detail the specific steps by which self-realizing persons learn to modify their own responses in the light of the best experience of the race and of the demands of the present situation. Some of these steps are of such fundamental importance and so complex that they will require still further elaboration in later chapters, as in the case of the generalization of responses, integration, the development of appreciation, and the utilization of personal past experience and racial experience.

THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF THE STEPS OF LEARNING

When the process of self-learning is subjected to analysis, it is possible to identify as many as thirteen definite steps. It should be pointed out, however, that while it is possible to identify this number of steps, they are by no means disparate. There is a great deal of overlapping. This overlapping obtains not only in adjacent steps but over the entire range of the process. While it is possible to place such a step as appreciation at a given point in the series, as a matter of fact it is an aspect that affects the entire process. So also the definition of the problem or issue involved in a given situation certainly should be placed early in the series, at the beginning of the

thinking process; yet, as a matter of fact, the issue cannot be clearly or completely seen until a search has been made of personal and racial experience. It will be most fruitful, therefore, to think of these steps as forming an identifiable series that constitutes in actual experience a continuous and unbroken *process* with many aspects moving from a beginning to a consummation.

In the same way it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the precise order in which the steps will be taken. The order which is here suggested is doubtless the one which a normal experience usually follows, having its beginning in a felt issue and working its way continuously through analysis and evaluation to a chosen and tested outcome. Nevertheless, any particular experience may begin at almost any point in this process and work backward or forward, or both backward and forward. It is quite possible, for example, that the interpretation of an experience may have its point of beginning with an unsatisfactory outcome. In that case the process of resolution will be reversed so that it will end with a clear understanding of the issue that was involved. Or it may start with a sudden insight or appreciation that will work backward to the issue and forward to the tested outcome.

Still further, the process as here broken down into thirteen steps may be greatly shortened, so that the solution will move swiftly from issue to outcome without tarrying over some of the intervening steps. In fact, this tends to be the case in many instances of behavior. The educator should be warned that herein lies one of the most fruitful sources of error in thinking and conduct. The dropping out of some of the essential steps in the process

may lead to an imperfect or truncated result that will not stand up under the exacting pressures of practice. It is part of the function of the teacher as a wise and understanding guide to help the immature learner not to omit essential steps that will affect unfavorably the validity of his result. It is obvious, however, that the situation in which the learner finds himself will affect materially the proportionate time required for the satisfactory completion of the several steps. If the problem is an old one and still unsolved, he may well pass quickly over the first steps of definition. If he is in possession of adequate knowledge but has not yet been able to decide upon the outcome, his search for facts and viewpoints may be shortened or omitted. The point always to be kept clearly in mind is that no step should be omitted or lightly passed over that might invalidate the results of learning.

THE STEPS OF LEARNING

With these considerations in mind, we may proceed to inspect the array of steps in the self-learning process which analysis discloses.

Realizing the situation.—The first step in meeting and responding to any situation is a clear and vivid realization of the issue involved. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the necessity that, as was suggested in chapter v, these situations be real situations for the learner. They must be *his* situations. No matter how much present and immediate interests need to be redirected or to what sorts of permanent interests they may ultimately lead, the point of beginning in all vital education is with a situation that is present and real to the learner and felt by him to be of importance.

Inasmuch as the techniques for assisting the learner to discover his own situations were discussed in detail in chapter v, it will not be necessary to tarry upon the details of this step here. The reader will do well to remind himself of what was suggested there concerning the fact that many fundamental issues, for one reason or another, may never get into the consciousness of the learner at all without the assistance of a wise counselor. He will also do well to warn himself against reading his own problems and interpretations into the experience of the learner.

But in any case, clear thinking and effective judgment concerning conduct begin with a clear realization of the issue that is involved in any given situation. Analysis and evaluation are impossible without this step. Above all, the motivation of learning depends upon it. The learner can have no great and impelling urge to search for facts and to subject himself to the discipline of thinking and persistent action until he realizes—that is, feels as *real* and important to him—the situation which he actually faces.

The definition of the issue involved.—Once the situation is realized, the second step will be the definition of the issue involved. It is one thing to realize the situation that confronts one and quite another thing to see clearly just what issue is involved. The higher forms of controlled thinking, such as that involved in research, have demonstrated that clearness and accuracy of thinking is dependent upon a clear and specific definition of the problem involved. These higher forms of controlled thinking have developed techniques for selecting single and unilinear problems very precisely formulated as the basis of research investigations. But the same mental operation

holds in the informal, commonplace situations in which thinking is involved. Failing to see clearly what issue is involved in a situation, one is quite helpless to know what to look for in regard to facts or what solutions might be attempted.

This does not at all mean that a final formulation of the issue should be attempted at the beginning. The more difficult and involved the situation may be, the more difficult it is to see clearly at first what the issue involved is. In these more complicated situations there must be, in the nature of the case, a good deal of feeling around in the situation for some clue as to its meaning. Nevertheless, some tentative formulation of the issue should be attempted. Such a tentative formulation may have to be abandoned or greatly modified in the course of dealing with the situation, but at least it furnishes some foothold for dealing with it intelligently. Moreover, however clear the issue may have seemed at the beginning, the accumulation of additional facts about it and the securing of fresh insights from different points of view may greatly modify one's understanding of it.

Search of the learner's past experience.—Once the issue is clearly stated, the first resource which the learner will utilize in the solution of the situation is his own past experience. This step is too complicated to be discussed in the brief space available in this array of steps. Its details will be deferred until chapter viii. Suffice it here merely to state that the learner's interpretation of the present situation is largely conditioned by his own previous experience in connection with this or similar situations. His past experience has given him a "mind-set" which causes him to see it from a certain angle and in a certain light. In

this way the learner's past experience may be a disadvantage as well as a resource to him. It is likely to be weighted with assumptions and prejudices.

But if it is a disadvantage in some instances in leading him to misinterpret a given situation, it is also a great resource for his utilization. As the result of past experience he has acquired knowledge, formed habits, built up attitudes, and begun the organization of certain sets of values. All these are immediately available for the interpretation and control of the present situation. Certain forms of personal past experience, as in the case of the expert, are the most precise and dependable resource one can possess.

Usually, this step is automatically taken. In a quick and unconscious way the mind runs through its past experience and seizes upon that which seems to have any appreciable relevance to the present situation. Some of the past, though it persists in the unconscious memory, is quite difficult to recall and only comes at the insistent summons of the will, sometimes after long and persistent search among forgotten lore.

Search of racial experience.—Personal experience, especially on the part of the immature, is too limited to sustain the learning process. It lacks amplitude and testing over wide areas of experience and long periods of time. It needs, therefore, to be supplemented by the vast tested experience of the race in facing similar situations through a wide extension of experience over long periods of time.

As in the case of personal experience, it would be impossible to consider adequately in this array of steps the character of this resource or its technique of utilization. These details also will be deferred until chapter viii.

It is sufficient here to point out that racial experience is the chief resource at the disposal of the learner for facts, for points of view, for standards, for techniques, and for the record of the achievements of the race. To this source he goes for the amplification of his imperfect and incomplete knowledge and for the correctives for his own personal standards and points of view.

This experience, like his own, is a mixture of assumptions and verified facts, of prejudices and objective judgments, of superstitions and scientific knowledge, of rationalizations and reflective thinking. Not all of that experience is of equal value. It must be weighed, evaluated, sifted. Time has made some of it obsolete and useless.

Nevertheless, out of it streams the light by which the next steps of the human pilgrimage are illuminated. If it is sometimes uncertain and dim, it is the only light that we have. With the accumulating knowledge of science and the enlightenment of growing experience, it shines with a steadier flame that casts increasing light upon the present moment of personal and social experience. It is like the light which the automobilist carries with him in his moving car, resulting from electrical energy stored up and constantly being renewed, for casting a clear light upon the way ahead.

Analyzing the situation.—As was pointed out in chapter vi, clear and effective thinking depends upon the discrimination and accuracy with which the situation is broken down into its constituent factors. The learner is helpless, therefore, unless he can think and act with discrimination with reference to the factors involved in the specific situation. If he sees it only as a blur, his response is certain to be confused and uncertain. He must be able

to respond intelligently to the specific and differentiated aspects of the situation. And among these he must be able to form some valid judgment as to what aspects of the situation are relevant or irrelevant and as to what aspects are essential to the right solution. If this step is imperfectly taken, the entire response process will be jeopardized. It is not enough that the situation be vividly felt. Discriminating analysis is essential to clear thinking and effective executive action. The good life is something more than a body of good intentions. The moral and spiritual qualities of an act go back to clear and accurate thinking concerning the factors involved. A dependable outcome for any situation rests upon the overlooking or neglect of no essential factor and upon seizing upon the right factor.

This step is here placed after the search of the learner's past experience and the experience of the race. As a matter of fact, some sort of preliminary and tentative analysis of the situation is made immediately upon one's being confronted by it. But such a preliminary analysis should generally be regarded as very tentative. Accurate and dependable analysis will depend upon a knowledge of the facts involved, and these will for the most part be available only after a search of personal and racial experience, especially racial experience, has been made. Valid thinking is dependent upon facts. If full analysis is attempted before this search of racial experience is made, there is danger that the person will be acting upon his unverified assumptions or his prejudices. Adequate thinking must be factual.

Analyzing the response for outcomes.—In intelligent and effective conduct, analysis will be concerned with the

possible outcomes in a response as well as with the factors involved in the situation. The details of this step were also discussed in chapter vi. In indiscriminating action, the outcome may be seen as a confused blur. Or the first solution that comes to mind may be seized upon as the proper solution. This quick solution, as has been suggested earlier in the discussion, may be determined by the unreflective taking over of the mores of the group, by an earlier superficial solution that has had the effect of closing the situation to further thinking, or by earlier conditionings that have given the mind a slant toward the situation.

It is necessary for intelligent and responsible action that the response be subjected to careful analysis for the discovery of every possible outcome. It is only in the presence of a number of possible outcomes that conduct can take on a moral or a spiritual quality. It is this fronting of alternatives that makes it necessary to criticize and evaluate outcomes, and to make definite choice among them. A situation whose outcome is obvious is not a good learning situation. Those situations are most educative which present approximately a fifty-fifty issue between outcomes.

As in the case of the analysis of the situation for factors, the analysis of the response for outcomes is likely to be immediate and tentative. But, as in the case of the analysis of factors, knowledge is necessary for valid analysis of the outcomes, for reasons already suggested. Therefore, whatever quick analysis of outcomes is made upon fronting a situation, such analysis should be held tentatively until the necessary facts and viewpoints that are available in racial experience have been canvassed.

Identification of possible outcomes.—It is not enough that the possible outcomes should be glimpsed in the step of analysis, or even that they be clearly perceived. Before they can become manageable in experience, it is necessary that they be identified and that they have an appropriate symbol attached to them. As long as they remain amorphous and unattached to symbols, they tend to elude thought.

This step, as in fact all other steps, will be made possible by the utilization of racial experience. While there are new elements in the race's ongoing experience, for the most part it is shared in most of its aspects by the members of the contemporaneous group and by successive generations. Through long usage the various outcomes to most situations have been thoroughly explored and identified. The learner, in making his discovery for the first time of the possibilities of his own experience, will find help in the long experience of the race in identifying the various types of response which persons in similar situations have made.

The evaluation of possible outcomes.—Once the response has been analyzed for its possible outcomes and these outcomes have been identified and attached to appropriate symbols, the learner is ready for the critical evaluation of these possible outcomes.

This step, at least for character education, is very nearly the fundamental step in the self-learning process. Enough has been said to make it indisputably clear that accurate and factual thinking is absolutely essential to the good life. But accurate thinking without critical and discriminating evaluation may fail to bring into view the moral and spiritual quality of the response. Learning is

much more than an intellectualistic process. It deals, in the end, with values. It is from these values discovered in the experience that the warmth and moving quality of the experience derives. The details of the valuation process will be deferred until chapter xii.

Moreover, it is through forming judgments concerning the outcomes of responses that an emerging set of values is created in the experience of the learner. It is through comparing, weighing, selecting, and appraising that the sense of value arises. In time these emerging values arrange themselves according to a scale of values, in accordance with which some types of conduct are judged to be good while other types of conduct are judged to be bad. Within the good and the bad there are degrees of goodness and badness.

In this the growing experience of the person receives great assistance from the experience of the race. Through a long trial-and-error method, the race has arrived at certain judgments concerning types of conduct in the light of scales of values which the race itself has evolved out of many situations over long periods of time. These values constitute the standards of conduct which the race approves or disapproves in the light of its tested experience. Not that these standards are final. They are rather to be thought of as functional—as working scales of values that have approved themselves through long and varied usage. These need constantly to be reassessed in the light of the changing conditions of modern life. Nevertheless, however imperfect these standards may be, they are the working values by which the race lives and assesses its outcomes in conduct.

Because the growing person is living in a mixed world

in which the good and the evil, the wise and the foolish, the beautiful and the ugly are strangely mixed, it will be necessary for him to acquire a critical attitude toward the various types of outcomes that surround him. It will, therefore, be necessary for him to form negative judgments as well as positive judgments. Innocence may be preserved in a protected environment. But character in any sense of personal achievement will be wrought out of this very process of judging the moral and spiritual quality of outcomes in conduct. In the acquisition of this ability to judge actions there is no substitute for actual experience in forming such judgments under competent and mature guidance.

The choice of the outcome.—The crowning moment in the process of evaluation is the definite and whole-hearted choice of the outcome that most completely answers to the person's own set of emerging values and to the tested values and standards of the race. A course of conduct so arrived at becomes self-chosen and desired because it embodies the growing person's sense of worth.

This desired outcome is an ideal. So that, from the point of view of the approach to education through initiation into a creative personal and social experience, there is no dispensing with ideals as the guiding principles of living in terms of desired types of action. The difference lies in the fact that these ideals, when arrived at in this way, are the results of the discovery of values in the actual experience of the growing person, rather than something abstract and external that has been imposed. They are concrete and real. And because they arise out of the issues actually faced by the growing person and have to do with ends that are worthful to him, they are dynamic and releasing. Such a process of discovering and creating

values eventuates, not in submissive acquiescence in traditional and static standards of conduct or in the passive acceptance of abstract ideals and virtues chosen by others, but in an eager forthreaching acceptance of an attitude or a course of action that is validated to the questing learner by his own and the race's best experience. It is perhaps in this step that the difference between education as training and education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience most radically appears.

Appreciation.—It is at this point in the resolving of a situation, as the outgrowth of the process of evaluation which eventuates in a whole-hearted choice of a desirable outcome, that appreciation arises. The process of facing the vital issues of living, of searching for facts, of critical thinking, of weighing outcomes, of judging, and of forming purposes is by no means coldly intellectualistic. It is by its very nature warm and vibrant with meaning and worth. As will be pointed out in chapter xii, the problem is not to secure an intellectually approved outcome and then get the person to desire it. Valuation as well as thinking are only different aspects of the same undifferentiated process of resolving a situation. They are in their deepest qualities inseparable. Ends that are arrived at through the utilization of both thinking and valuation are desired when they are discovered and approved.

It is of the greatest importance, however, that an opportunity be afforded at this point for making the sense of value explicit and articulate in some adequate form of appreciation. Otherwise it is quite possible that this crowning aspect of creative experience will escape both teacher and learner. Learning will then remain merely a coldly intellectualistic process of problem-solving. The moral and

spiritual qualities of character have to do essentially with the appreciations. They are fundamentally a discovery and a creation of values. Not until moral and spiritual ideals have passed from cold intellectual concepts into warm and desired qualities of action will they become effective as the determiners of behavior.

The placement of appreciation at this point in the learning process by no means is intended to suggest that it is limited to a specific "step." As a matter of fact, appreciation will normally be diffused throughout all the steps in meeting and responding to situations, from the earliest glimpsing of the issue involved to the satisfying resolution of it. Nevertheless, it is of the greatest importance that appreciation shall be looked for and sought for as one of the basic ends of learning through creative experience and that at the appropriate moment adequate opportunity shall be given for its becoming articulate through appropriate expression.

Experimentation.—It is not enough that satisfactory outcomes in the form of ideas be arrived at through the foregoing steps of defining the issue involved, the analysis of the situation for factors and outcomes, the search for the facts of past experience, evaluation, choice, and appreciation. There must be more than high idealistic purpose. Arrival at the meaning of a situation and its desirable outcome is only the first step in learning. By far the more important part of learning is the carrying of the solution through into appropriate conduct and the stabilizing of the outcome as an established attitude and procedure in life. This is vastly more than the "application" which the Herbartians had in mind for bringing the concept to clearness and completeness. It is quite other than what has traditionally gone under the term "expressional

activity." It calls for the actual trying out of solutions in practical situations.

It is through experimenting with the outcome in actual situations that the outcome is validated. From the standpoint of the scientific method, an idea is validated by rigid experimental testing. In practical experience ideas are tested by a rougher trial-and-error method. But before the idea can be anything more than a symbol, a formula of living, it must be subjected to the testing of practical experience. It is from actual experimental usage that ideas get not only their validation, but also their sense of reality and worth. This is even true of the most dependable formulas of racial experience in a world where conditions are so rapidly changing. Under the conditions of rapid and fundamental change, formulas that once seemed quite permanently valid have a way of becoming inadequate. This means that the technique of effective living under the conditions of the modern world is shifting from precedent to experimentation. This does not mean that the traditional virtues will be discarded; but it does mean that every solution of the issues of an ever changing life needs to be subjected to the validation of fresh testing. Without this step of verification ideas remain more or less vague guesses and carry with them a lingering sense of unreality. The validation of ideas lies in their functional relation to experience—in their capacity to make a difference in the conduct of life and to enrich and further experience in the direction of its most cherished values.

Generalization of the outcome.—From what has been said in the discussion thus far, it is clear that if learning is to be vital and effective, it must take place in specific and concrete situations. Reflection, however, will quickly demonstrate that it is impossible, if it were desirable, to

deal directly with every specific and concrete experience. These are incalculable in number. Effective learning, therefore, will depend upon a technique for making that which is learned in a specific and concrete situation available for other similar situations. This result may be accomplished through generalizing the outcome to a given specific situation. This result, made possible through the utilization of conditions now well understood by experimental psychology, makes it possible to select representative situations and issues for specific learning and to abstract their meanings and outcomes for all similar situations and issues. The technique of this process will be discussed in detail in chapter ix.

Reducing the outcome to a habit.—Once the desired outcome has been discovered, evaluated, chosen, validated, and generalized through the steps described in the foregoing paragraphs, the final step in learning to modify a response is to reduce the chosen outcome to a dependable habit. The learner should be able to be depended upon and to depend upon himself to respond consistently to representative situations in accordance with his self-chosen ideals and his emerging set of moral and spiritual values.

Thus habit will become an executive function of the growing self, an instrument for the effective carrying out of the ideals and purposes that constitute the good life. Viewed as an executive function of the growing self, habit will always be held in subjection to thinking, valuing, and purposing. When so viewed and utilized, habit becomes flexible, subject to change when a modified habit will better serve the purposes of the good life.

THE PATTERN SET BY THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

It will thus be seen that the pattern of the learning process is that of reflective thinking, evaluation, and validation by experimentation. This, it will immediately be recognized, is the pattern of the scientific method. It was assumed in chapter ii that this method is quite as valid for dealing with the facts of human behavior as it is for dealing with the facts of the physical world. Education as creative personal and social experience proposes the introduction of intelligence, critical evaluation, experimentation, and organized purpose into the reconstruction of the behavior patterns that constitute the moral and spiritual life.

It will also be noted that in such a process of learning, the valuable permanent result will consist quite as much in the technique of dealing with situations and their issues as in the acquisition of the necessary knowledge involved. The content of knowledge will change continuously with the changing experience of the learner and of the group to which he belongs. The technique he has acquired will remain a more or less permanent resource for dealing with similar future situations and their issues. It is here, perhaps more than elsewhere, that the conditions are provided for continuous growth and for continuous learning throughout life. The recent studies of Professor Thorndike concerning the educability of the adult¹ places even greater emphasis upon this consideration than has hitherto been possible. It is increasingly clear to the educator that the chief result of learning is the acquisition of attitudes and techniques that will guarantee the indefinite continuation of personal growth.

¹ *Adult Learning*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UTILIZATION OF PAST EXPERIENCE

As was pointed out in chapter vii, one of the primary resources for dealing with current situations is the experience of the past. A part of this resource the learner finds in his own personal experience. The greater part he finds in the much longer and more widely extended experience of the race. The skill of the learner in dealing with current experience will be greatly facilitated if he is assisted in acquiring suitable techniques for utilizing the resources of this past experience.

THE CONTENT OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The resource that lies nearest the learner's hand and is most immediately available is his own past experience. This experience he has acquired through responding to an increasing number of specific and concrete situations through a lengthening period of time. Exceedingly meager and tentative with very young children, this experience deepens and grows richer in content and becomes more reliable with maturity. The wealth of this resource is at once apparent when its content is analyzed.

Knowledge.—The first element in the content of personal past experience is a growing fund of knowledge. From many concrete situations meanings have been abstracted. In course of time these meanings have been organized into general ideas and concepts. These meanings may be very simple and concrete, as when the infant associates the bottle with food and the satisfaction of hun-

ger. Or they may be very abstract and complex, as in the case of the philosopher's generalization or the formula of the physicist. In their cumulative and systematized form, this expanding knowledge constitutes the working stock of ideas for the further direction of personal experience.

In its unverified forms, as is the case in most personal experience, this fund of ideas is a mixture of widely varying worth. Some of it has been taken over without question or criticism from the folk ways of the social group. These traditional ideas have the sanction of long and universal acceptance. It occurs neither to the group nor to the individual to question them. Among these traditions are many unverified superstitions that correspond to no reality. Other elements among this fund of ideas are nothing more than assumptions and guesses at the meaning of situations. The intellectual history of the race, as well as of individuals, is marked by the remains of disproved and discarded ideas. Some of these ideas are deeply rooted prejudices. Others are loaded with profound emotional conditionings of one sort or another.

On the other hand, it is this source that contains the most reliable knowledge available—the precise and tested knowledge of the experts. These specialists work on the frontiers of human knowledge. The written record in books lags considerably behind them. They have at their command the most exhaustive and valid ideas concerning the fields in which they work. These experts are at home within certain areas of life because they know them so thoroughly and so accurately.

Habits and skills.—At the same time that knowledge is being accumulated, habits are being formed and skills are being acquired. Through repetition initial responses

have been built up into action patterns. These behavior patterns form the molds into which all subsequent action tends to flow. Thus, while habits are a source of great economy in action, they also constitute a conservative and regimenting factor. They tend to oversimplify responses and to bind behavior to precedent.

Through a rough trial-and-error process certain ways of responding to situations are selected as the most fruitful ways of furthering experience. Through long usage these become established as procedures or skills. They constitute the executive aspect of experience. Through their mastery a person may become expert in certain processes, as in hunting or fishing, among primitive men, or in manipulating a machine or in playing a musical instrument, among civilized men.

As in the case of knowledge, a very precise and dependable skill may be acquired by persons through controlled conditions of experimentation. This is the skill of the expert. Skill is lifted to the level of technique. These persons are the technicians of society, in science, in medicine, in engineering, in the arts, in sports.

Attitudes.—At the same time that knowledge is being accumulated and skills developed, attitudes are being formed. These take the form of likes and dislikes, of preferences, of appreciations. One comes to assume a preferential attitude toward aspects of his material and social world. Thus one becomes socially minded, co-operative, and tolerant, while another becomes egoistic, selfish, and cynical.

An emerging set of values.—From the standpoint of personality, the most important element in the content of personal experience is an emerging set of values. From

the beginning, these values are in the process of formation. They have as their basis the satisfactions which certain types of experience bring the growing person and the annoyances which other types of experience bring him. Through the resolution of conflict among impulses and satisfactions, some sort of organization begins to appear among these values. At first this emerging set of values is extremely tentative and subject to modification. In the higher types of personal experience the organization of one's values is very conscious, very critical, and very stable. One has come to desire to possess certain qualities of personality and to have certain types of rewarding experiences. In the higher types of personality each situation, each impulse, each outcome in experience is judged according to the standards that inhere in this set of values.

THE FUNCTION OF THE LEARNER'S PAST EXPERIENCE

In the presence of the immediate situation faced by the growing person, his past experience functions in two ways. Such functioning may be quite independent of the consciousness of the learner. Or, if he has learned to utilize this resource to its greatest advantage, its function with reference to current experience may be vividly conscious and critically organized. But whether he thinks of it or not, the learner's current experience is profoundly modified by his past experience.

Interpretation.—The first function of the learner's past experience with reference to current experience is that of interpretation. It is in the light of his past that he understands his present, provided, of course, that the new experience has similarity to the old. A person facing

an entirely novel situation is like an explorer threading his way over an uncharted terrain. There are no familiar landmarks. A person facing a recurrent situation is like an old settler who is thoroughly familiar with the "lay of the land" and who is at home with its accustomed landmarks. He has a ready response reduced to dependable habit. He has no need of fresh analysis of the situation for its factors, since he has his solution to the issue involved. If the situation is similar to, but not identical with, situations he has faced in the past, his partial familiarity with the factors involved sets him forward in his analysis for factors and outcomes.

It by no means follows, however, that past experience is always an asset in facing a current situation. It is quite as apt to mislead one as to guide him aright. A superficial early solution of a situation may close it to him. A prejudiced attitude toward a set of circumstances or a person or group may blind him to essential facts and outcomes. Established habits may form the smooth grooves into which the response may glide without thinking or evaluation. So that the uncritical use of past experience may be the cause of one's completely misjudging a present situation.

Control.—As past experience is an asset, when critically used, for the understanding of present experience, so it supplies the factors of control in cases in which solutions have been previously arrived at or there are common elements of content and procedure between the old situation and the new. A physician who has had a great deal of experience in dealing with a disease will be able quickly and certainly to diagnose the symptoms in a new case and prescribe the remedy that scientific experi-

ence has long demonstrated to be effective in its cure. A person who has had experience in race co-operation, if that experience has been intelligent and socially motivated, will be at home with almost any social situation that may arise between members of different races, and will know what his attitude and procedure should be. When new variants in the situation arise, he will be able to utilize the generalizations which previous experience has led him to make.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Considering the tentative, incomplete, and mixed character of personal past experience, it is of the greatest importance that the teacher shall assist the learner in assuming certain attitudes toward his experience as he seeks to utilize it for the understanding and control and redirection of his current experience.

Criticism and evaluation.—It is essential that the learner shall be led to take a critical and evaluating attitude toward his past experience. This does not mean that he shall assume a negative attitude toward it. It does mean that he will subject it to searching review and selection. He will inquire whether his ideas are assumptions or verified conclusions based upon fact. He will ask whether his judgments have been conditioned or loaded with prejudice. He will wish to know whether an idea or a point of view is a rationalization or a compensation, or objective and impersonal.

Evaluation.—The critical use of the learner's past experience calls for more than verification. It calls as well for evaluation in the light of an emerging set of values. Certain types of experience further the desired ends of

personal living; others frustrate them. Consequently, the various types of experience have meaning and worth with reference to the desired ends toward which they lead or which they defeat, and are, therefore, to be sought or avoided. This judgment as to the worth of various types of experience is the very essence of the moral and the spiritual life.

Open-mindedness.—The teacher will through criticism and evaluation assist the learner to assume an open-minded attitude toward his experience. Knowledge, habits, attitudes, and standards are, in a creative experience, to be thought of in terms of process. They should be constantly undergoing reconstruction as the content and patterns of experience change. In the certainty that results from firm and deep conviction, the teacher should help the learner to escape from dogmatism. Open-mindedness with reference to his own experience will lead him to assume a tolerant attitude toward the ideas and convictions of others. More than that, it will lead him actively to seek to expand and enrich his own experience by fresh discoveries and new experiments with reality. In this open and searching attitude of mind is laid the foundation for continued growth and sustained learning.

TESTING

Basic in his attitude toward his own past experience on the part of the learner should be the process of testing. This is the normal outgrowth of the attitudes of criticism, evaluation, and open-mindedness already suggested. The adequacy of the knowledge, the effectiveness of skills, and the soundness of the values that form the content of the learner's past experience can only be de-

terminated by subjecting them to continuous retesting in the light of an enlarging experience.

Recent educational theory and practice has rightly made much of testing. In fact, this has been an outstanding development of modern education, particularly during the past decade. Education has devised ingenious techniques for measuring the native intelligence of persons apart from the influence of learning. It has also developed various standardized tests for measuring the results of learning in terms of knowledge and of skills. Experiments are now under way for the development of procedures for measuring attitudes, appreciation, and ethical conduct. As a result of these tests, it is now possible to determine what the average child should know as the result of formal schooling at any given point of advancement in his school program.

It is obvious, however, that when education is conceived as the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience, through meeting and responding to situations, testing becomes a vastly more complex and difficult procedure. The formal tests thus far devised lift a specific knowledge, skill, or attitude out of its concrete situation and test it in isolation. In actual experience, however, these processes of intelligence, knowing, appreciating, purposing, and executing never operate in isolation from each other. They operate as conditioning factors in the total response of a whole person to a total situation. The effectiveness of each of these aspects of the process is tested by the intelligence, the discrimination, the resourcefulness, and the precision with which a person faces a situation, discerns its essential issue, seizes upon its fundamental factors and out-

comes, and sees it through to a satisfactory solution. The real test is the test of the natural situation. It is a continuous, day-by-day testing in actual experience. A nurse was taking her final examination. One of the doctors outlined the symptoms of a "case." When asked what she would prescribe under such conditions, the nurse indicated a dose of morphine. After she had passed to other doctors on the examining committee, she discovered that she had prescribed an overdose of morphine. But when she sought to correct her mistake, the examining doctor replied: "It is too late to change your dose now. The patient is dead!" Life is like that. The real test of knowledge and skill in actual experience where these knowledges and skills have to be used is not an artificial paper-and-pencil test, but a test of *consequences* that irrevocably follow the making of concrete decisions and the choosing of specific courses of action.

Moreover, on the basis of learning here suggested, it is far from sufficient that an objective judgment be passed upon the quality of one's performance by another, however accurate that judgment may be. The testing that is truly educative must be *self-testing*. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the learner acquire habits, attitudes, and techniques for judging the adequacy of his knowledge, the certainty of his intelligence, and the effectiveness of his skill in the light of the consequences of his behavior.

The effective test of learning in self-directed experience is, consequently, to be sought in the process of the experience itself—in its growing intelligence, in its attitudes of appreciation, in the firmness and certainty of its control, and in its persistent and effective carry-through.

For this more vital and fundamental form of testing in real life-situations over long periods of growth formal techniques are still lacking. It is possible they may take the form of case histories.

THE WORTH OF RACIAL EXPERIENCE

However valuable a resource the past experience of the learner may be in meeting and responding to new situations, it is, at best, extremely limited, both as to time and range. If it were not for the vast accumulated experience of the race enriched through long periods by the fragmentary experiences of individuals and groups, it would be necessary for each individual to begin his adventure *de novo*. But racial experience places at his disposal the accumulated insights, the perfected techniques, the tested values, and the verified knowledge of countless generations of experimenting with life. In this way the individual and the group may capitalize a vast fund of experience, beginning where the race has left off in the human adventure thus far.

It would be the greatest educational error to undervalue or neglect this incalculable resource for intelligent and effective living. In the reaction of the movement toward vital education from the subject matter of the traditional school, there has been a discernible tendency to discount racial experience in an equally exclusive emphasis upon personal experience. While this tendency, which follows the course of all reactions, is easily to be understood, it is ill considered and would, if persisted in, result in the irreparable impoverishment of education. While vital education will start with the present moment of personal and social experience, it will by no means

end there. There are many excellent reasons for not transmitting racial experience just because it is a body of subject matter to be assimilated. But to fail to take account of its insights, its tested knowledge, and its values as expressed in science, literature, art, institutions, moral standards, and religion is to neglect one of the most priceless resources for intelligent and effective living which education possesses.

For this reason it is ill advised to affirm that education is child-centered. Education is a much more fundamental and far-reaching undertaking than can be couched in the interests and needs of the child or of a single generation in isolation from the interests and needs of society. It is a complex process of vast social proportions. In it the race is renewing and re-creating its spiritual values while it is renewing its biological life. To conceive education as child-centered is probably as great an error as to conceive it as centering in the subject matter. Education takes place at the point where current personal and social experience fuses with racial experience and where both are reconstructed. Current personal and social experience is reconstructed in the light of the knowledge, the techniques, and the standards of racial experience. Racial experience, on the other hand, is reconstructed through the fresh discoveries, the new and better techniques, and the emerging values of a complex and rapidly changing world. Without the resources of long racial experience, limited current experience is blind, lacking in standards of values, faltering in its techniques, and lacking in continuity. Without the fresh insights of current experience, racial experience is static, regimented, traditional, and repressive.

So that, when racial experience is conceived as a resource for the interpretation, enrichment, and control of current personal and social experience, it actually turns out that a greater emphasis is placed upon the great bodies of racial experience than under a subject-matter approach to education. Education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience is not lacking, but is rich, in content. But its content is vital, not formal and traditional. In it the past and the present meet in living and growing persons adjusting themselves to a moving and ever expanding world of reality and worth, with the help of the knowledge and values of the race-long adventure in the quest for a fuller and more satisfying human life.

THE NATURE OF RACIAL EXPERIENCE

In order intelligently to utilize racial experience it is necessary for both the educator and the learner to understand it for what it is. The most fruitful approach to its understanding is through perceiving that at one time every fragment of it was current personal or social experience. It arose as a specific and immediate meaning out of the response of some person or group to an immediate and concrete situation. These meanings have survived in language, in techniques, in the various forms of art, in institutions, and in customs. Little by little these meanings were pieced together and organized into the great traditions of knowledge, art, standards, institutions, customs, points of view, and religion. In proportion to their age and widespread acceptance, these traditions have acquired authority. The testing of the centuries has culled out some of these survivals that have

proved in usage to be erroneous. Others have persisted in the popular mind in the face of more ample knowledge and disqualifying experience.

As will readily be seen, racial experience consists of the same essential elements as the more limited personal experience, except that it moves on a vastly extended scale. It is made up of knowledge in the form of ideas, of social habits in the form of customs and ways of looking at things, of skills in the form of the techniques involved in social living, such as have to do, for example, with food, clothing, shelter, and the practical processes, of emerging sets of values in the form of approved standards that set the ends of social endeavor and afford criteria of conduct, of attitudes in the form of preferences and antipathies. As in the case of personal experience, much of the racial inheritance contains error mixed with truth, rationalizations, compensations, escapes from reality into the fantasies of wishful thinking, unverified assumptions, and deeply laden prejudices, along with clear insights and objectively valid judgments concerning life and the world.

This will be best understood when racial experience is seen as a process, a growth, a becoming. It represents the accumulation of ideas, habits, and values that have arisen upon many levels of cultural progress. Some of it arose on the level of primitive culture, in the simplest forms of tribal life. Some of it records the achievements of early culture peoples with written language and the crude beginnings of the arts. Much of it is the survival of a prescientific stage of thinking and culture, with its simple handicraft and relatively small and isolated social groups. Some of it is the result of critical thinking and

technical achievement under the influence of the scientific method. These cultural and intellectual levels, like strands of an ancient sea-bed, are clearly discernible in art, in literature, in economic modes of life, in political organization, in philosophy, in ethics, and in religion. When, therefore, the criteria of modern living are laid down upon these records of the long racial experience, they present great unevenness from the standpoint of their relevancy and worth.

The value of this racial inheritance lies in the fact that it is a record of the long human experiment with life. It is a log of the long voyage of the race over uncharted seas. Because that log has been kept by so many voyagers through so long a period of time, it is now possible to chart these distances that stretch away toward the past and to form some valid judgments as to what may lie in the future.

And just because it is such an impressive record of a significant past, it tends to focus attention upon itself and the past which it records. The temptation to make its acquisition the basis of education has been all but irresistible. The result has been that this accumulated knowledge has been made an end in itself, as if the business of education were to recapitulate the past in every generation. Life, however, is moving away from the past into the future. Too often the overstressing of the past has had the effect of causing the present generation to back into the future with its gaze fixed upon the receding past rather than front the future with eager, questing, and creative forthreaching after the as yet unrealized possibilities of life, with such insight and comprehension as a knowledge of the past can give.

THE FORM IN WHICH RACIAL EXPERIENCE
EXISTS

The form in which racial experience exists differs greatly from that in which current experience presents itself to growing persons. Current experience is genetic. Its events follow in a series bound together by antecedent and consequent, so that each unit of experience is a direct outgrowth of that which immediately preceded it and will, in turn, give rise to further units of experience. Thus current experience is a steady continuum of events.

Racial experience, on the other hand, confronts the learner in its cumulative form. It presents the piling up of these fragments of experience that have arisen out of current personal and social experience until the total mass is vast and impressive.

Moreover, this cumulative experience is logically organized, after the fashion of a great library with its departments and subdepartments, or, in its abbreviated form, after the fashion of the encyclopedia in which the summary of all human knowledge is contained in alphabetical arrangement. Or it is like the organization of a great department store in which the articles of a particular kind, like furniture or ready-made clothing, are to be found assembled and systematically arranged in one department. The manner in which goods are received from every part of the world in a steady stream, but unassorted, in the receiving room suggests after a fashion the manner in which genetic experience occurs. The arrangement of these same goods by departments and subdepartments represents the manner in which the vast array of racial experience is presented to the learner in its cumulative and organized form.

Furthermore, this cumulative and organized experience is preserved for the most part in symbolic form. Part of it persists in the institutions of society. Part of it is preserved in social habits in the form of customs. Some of it exists in the accepted standards of taste and conduct. Some of it consists of the techniques by which practical processes are carried on, processes that are transmitted from one generation to another as approved procedures. Some of it is preserved in art. But for the most part this cumulative record of racial experience is preserved in written form. This is why, in the presence of the impressive array of written records, education has tended always, since language was invented, to become bookish. The result has been that education has too often dealt with the symbols in which racial experience is preserved rather than with the experience itself. The present reaction of vital education from subject matter is in large measure a movement away from the symbols of racial experience to the experience itself, seen and appreciated in its relation to the meanings and demands of current personal and social experience.

THE FUNCTION OF RACIAL EXPERIENCE

As in the case of personal experience, the function of racial experience in its relation to current experience is fourfold. Its primary function is to assist the learner in understanding his present experience. In this, as in all other functions, racial experience far exceeds the resources of personal experience. The meaning of some situations and their outcomes cannot be perceived when set in the narrow range and isolation of an individual life. But in the larger setting of social living through long periods of

time it is clear what these situations mean. This is certainly true of social institutions, such as the family, the state, and the church. It is only as they are seen in their origin and development as functioning agencies that they can be understood or appreciated. In this vaster social experience situations and issues get perspective. It is, therefore, when personal experiences are held up against this large and varied background of social experience that they yield their meaning and significance.

But racial experience yields more than understanding of current experience. Through understanding it provides, as far as these have thus far been discovered, the factors of control. As the result of much trial-and-error procedure and much precise scientific experimentation, in ever increasing areas of his experience man has discovered the factors of control. This is astonishingly true in the fields of the natural sciences, in such fields of applied science as mechanics, medicine, and engineering, and increasingly in the fields of psychology and social living. These controls rest upon long and patient processes of discovery. By the utilization of these known controls the individual is set forward incalculably in his mastery of the conditions of living.

Racial experience, as personal experience cannot, places at the disposal of the current generation the techniques and procedures that the race has found effective in the conduct of life. Rough and tentative at first, these procedures in dealing with the various types of situations have gradually become refined and dependable until now, in many fields of experience, dependable techniques exist for proceeding under the conditions of given situations. These procedures constitute the technological advance of

the human race and form one of the most invaluable assets of human civilization.

So, too, one of the functions of racial experience is to furnish standards of value in the light of which various types of experience may be judged. Each aspect of experience has gradually built up its own set of values, until now we have our truth values in the realm of the intellectual life, our economic values in the realm of the production and distribution of goods, our aesthetic values in the realm of our appreciations, our social values in the realm of social relations and functions, our ethical values in the realm of our moral judgments, and our religious values in the integration of all departmental values into a comprehending and integrating sense of the total meaning and worth of life. In no sense to be thought of as static or final, these values serve as the basis for the assessment of life in its several aspects and in its totality. These values lie close to the heart of what constitutes reality for persons and groups. They are the most valuable possessions of the race.

These functions of racial experience—in interpreting current experience, in furnishing a knowledge of the factors of control, in supplying techniques of procedure, and in providing standards in the form of organized values—are greatly heightened in effectiveness beyond what isolated personal experience can hope to attain by the fact that they have been tested over wide areas of experience through long periods of time. Obsolete ideas and fruitless procedures tend, under this rigid testing of experience, to decay and to disappear. The history of man's intellectual life is marked by numberless discarded conceptions that did not fit into an expanding experience or that failed

of validation by the pragmatic test of workability. Customs and institutions, like ideas, are the end-points of long processes of historical development and represent a selection from numberless experiments. To be sure, not all ideas, institutions, and procedures that have survived can lay claim to permanency. Nevertheless, by and large, these working ideas and values that have survived the testing of practical usage bear within themselves credentials of validity worthy of profound respect.

THE LEARNER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD RACIAL EXPERIENCE

What attitudes, then, shall the teacher assist the learner to assume toward this vast resource of racial experience for personal and social living? Obviously, in view of the nature and incalculable value of that experience he will do well to assume an attitude of profound respect for it. He will place great value upon the continuity of his own experience with the past out of which it has come. He will perceive that continuity in experience is as necessary as the reconstruction of it. He would be short-sighted indeed who, in the light of the wisdom that shines from the past, would disregard its treasures or treat them flippantly just because they belong to the yesterdays of experience. One who perceives the nature of that inheritance and the precious freightage of meaning which it conveys can scarcely have other than a reverent attitude toward it.

On the other hand, considering its origin and its mixed character, he will need to assume a discriminating and evaluating attitude toward it. He will form judgments as to what parts of it are obsolete and what parts are relevant to present experience. He will inquire concerning the

levels of culture upon which its ideas and ideals arose. He will searchingly ask what parts of it are mere unverified assumption, uncriticized prejudices or objective views of a real world validated by the testing of experience. He will inquire as to the relevancy of its content to the conditions and demands of the modern world.

An appreciation of the origin and nature of racial experience will lead to a tolerant attitude toward the experience of others that in material ways have differed from his own. Because he sees it for what it is—the record of the vital experiences of living men struggling for the meaning of life and the world and for fruitful ways of ordering their lives—it will be real and vital to him because it was real and vital to them, though his own experience has moved far beyond those with whom it had its rise.

Above all, he will see in that experience a dynamic and creative movement of the human spirit experimenting with life, gaining deeper insights into its meaning, searching for the factors of its control, reaching out toward, and in some degree realizing, the human, the moral, and the spiritual values that are still in process of creation.

CHAPTER IX

GENERALIZING RESPONSES

On the basis of the assumptions in the preceding discussion, and as was suggested in chapter vii, it is obvious that if learning is to be effective it must take place within the actual experience of the learner in responding to specific and concrete situations. But when one contemplates the complexity of the learner's experience it is equally obvious that it is impossible to deal directly with every concrete situation that arises in the normal course of living. Neither is it necessary or desirable to do so. While dependence may no longer be placed upon the traditional doctrine of the transfer of training, there are well-known conditions under which learning in a specific and concrete situation may be made available for all similar situations. Economical and effective education, therefore, will devise techniques based upon these known conditions for the generalization of responses.

EFFECTIVE LEARNING TAKES PLACE IN SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

In the light of modern psychology it is now demonstrable that effective learning takes place in specific and concrete situations. This conviction is far removed from the traditional idea that learning has its beginning point in more or less abstract ideas which find their "application" or "expression" in some form of practical activity. It is equally far removed from the conception that an idea tends to pass over into action. On the contrary, it is in-

creasingly clear that mental life has as its basis the action patterns that are involved in the process of practical living. It is a misguided procedure to begin the reconstruction of conduct solely at the intellectualistic level. Personality and character are inseparably bound up with the experience of persons, the total experience by which they realize themselves. Therefore, a way must be found for basing education upon the actual situations which persons face and the responses which they make to these situations.

Knowledge arises as meaning directly out of concrete experience. Thus at its point of origin every fragment of meaning which the race possesses emerged out of a specific and concrete situation to which a person or a group was responding. In their cumulative and organized forms, these fragments of meaning constitute the sum of human knowledge as it is preserved in the great traditions of science, literature, art, custom, institutions, and religion.

Consequently, it is impossible to communicate ideas as such to another person without a supporting shared experience. In the direct proportion as the experiences of persons differ, their funds of meanings differ. Where their experiences have been totally different there is an impassable chasm between them so far as understanding is concerned, a chasm that no pedagogical device can bridge. Only in proportion as there is a shared experience can there be shared communication or understanding.

Moreover, for the same reason the sense of reality and worth in ideas depends upon their rootage in the deep and warm soil of personal and social experience. In the absence of such supporting concrete experience, ideas remain in the realm of abstraction. They are cold and lifeless

symbols that correspond to no impressive and convincing reality.

The essential interdependence of ideas and experience is equally manifest in the function of ideas. In addition to abstracting the meaning from situations and rendering them permanent and manageable, the function of ideas is to redirect further experience in new situations. As meanings that have arisen out of specific and concrete situations, ideas assist the learner in interpreting new situations, in giving him insight into and comprehension of them, and in discovering through understanding the factors of control. Learning which conceives its task as completed when the learner has arrived at clear and adequate concepts is faulty learning. As ideas derive their content and validation from actual experience, so they realize their highest function when they re-enter experience as factors of interpretation and control. The learner has not truly learned until he has acquired the ability to utilize ideas for the reconstruction of his experience in meeting and responding to other actual situations.

This interrelation of ideas and experience has for some time been recognized in various types of education, both in theory and practice. Many types of vocational and professional education now utilize the principle of "training on the job." The student of law works his way through trial cases. The student of medicine spends much time in the clinic. The engineering student spends much time in field operations. The natural sciences have long used the "laboratory" method. It becomes increasingly clear that this is the valid technique for character education. Moral and spiritual personality is achieved through actual dealing with situations in real life over the entire

range of learner experience in moral and spiritual ways. Under the impact of these convictions, education is beginning to abandon its extreme intellectualism and is grounding its understanding and control of life in the active and ongoing experience of the learner in the realistic situations which life in its manifold aspects presents to him.

IT IS NEITHER NECESSARY NOR DESIRABLE TO
DEAL WITH EVERY SITUATION

However, notwithstanding the necessity of learning in direct connection with specific and concrete situations, it is manifestly impossible to deal directly with every concrete situation involved in normal, day-by-day living. There are myriads of these situations. There is neither time nor educational opportunity to deal with all of them. Education is under the necessity, therefore, of reconciling the urgency of learning in concrete situations with some measure of completeness in dealing educationally with the entire range of those fundamental situations that need to be interpreted and mastered if the learner is to get some adequate understanding and control of his experience.

Unless some way can be found for generalizing responses, the learner or the learning group will be forever bound to specific and concrete situations. Thus, while learning in one concrete situation may facilitate the mastery of another situation, it does not necessarily follow that it will always do so. Learning in the first situation may actually interfere with learning in the second situation. A way of freeing ideas from too great dependence upon immediate experience must be devised so that the results of learning in a given situation may be made available for any number of similar situations. In this way the

learning process can be brought within the limits of available teaching opportunities, the entire range of learner experience can be dealt with, the interests of economy will be conserved, and learning will be simplified so as to become manageable.

THE CONDITIONS OF TRANSFER

Experimental psychology is now aware of the conditions under which the results of learning in a concrete situation may be made available for all similar situations.

Common elements of content.—The first of these conditions is that there shall be common elements of content among the situations involved. Thus, one who has learned Latin will find it much easier to learn French because of the similarities in the structure of the two languages. Similarly, one who has learned to drive an automobile will find himself well on the way to driving any make of car because of the similarity of the mechanism and general construction of the automobile. Within certain limits of variation there is much similarity in the arrangement of the motor, the chassis, the body, the control mechanism, and the instrument board. All cars are moving bodies in relation to stationary and other moving bodies. So, also, one who has come to some satisfactory conclusion regarding the returning of lost money that is found to its original owner, provided he can be found, will feel more at home in reaching a conclusion as to what should be done if he finds lost property of any description.

Common elements of procedure.—A second condition is that there shall be common elements of procedure. The determination of shades of meaning by the identification of case endings and of person and tense by verb endings will aid in the translation of any language. The manipula-

tion of the gear shift, the handling of a car in motion, the management of the controls for starting and stopping—all these procedures give one the “feel” of driving and make him more or less “at home” in the handling of any car. If, on the other hand, learning has been too specific and the procedure in driving another car is radically different in certain particulars, as in the case of a different gear shift, there may be points at which learning in the first situation will interfere with learning in the second situation, perhaps with disastrous results. In precisely the same way, too close identification of what constitutes honesty with the details of a specific situation may interfere with deciding what is an honest course of action to pursue in a situation in which the details are fundamentally different.

The raising of the response into consciousness.—A third condition is that the response shall be clearly raised into consciousness and reflected upon. In the well-known Montana experiment on neatness, as long as neatness was insisted upon in arithmetic only there was no perceptible improvement in neatness in English or history papers or in neatness in the home. But when neatness was talked about and discussed as a desirable general quality of all behavior, the spread of the initial learning in neatness to other school activities and to the home was immediately apparent. The listing by such notables as Benjamin Franklin and Colonel Lindbergh of certain qualities of character, such as thrift, honesty, truthfulness, and fidelity, and the keeping of them constantly before the mind by a daily review of conduct, derives its effectiveness from the utilization of this principle, attended by a constant desire to attain these qualities.

Desire.—The fourth condition of carry-over is a desire

to attain the characteristic or the skill involved in the chosen outcome as a permanent quality of character. It is desire that imparts dynamic to the quality sought. In the absence of desire, the transfer of learning from one situation to another is largely fortuitous. When motivated by the constant and consistent desire of the learner to become the sort of person characterized by a given quality of behavior, the carry-over of learning from one situation to another is at its maximum.

TECHNIQUES FOR GENERALIZING RESPONSES

Several techniques are available for generalizing the response to a particular situation so that it will be available for any number of similar situations. The following descriptions will be suggestive of other procedures in keeping with the conditions of transfer outlined in the foregoing.

The use of type situations.—One technique for the generalization of a given response is the use of the type situation in teaching. While it is true that the concrete situations which one faces in the course of normal living vary infinitely in their details, nevertheless there is a tendency for these situations to center around certain fundamental and general characteristics so that their variations are from certain norms of behavior. Thus there are many situations that classify under the general situation of finding lost property and deciding upon a proper course of action to pursue. A gentleman found two ten-dollar bills on the Board Walk at Atlantic City. A search of the possible ways of discovering the original owner ended in the judgment that under the conditions it would be impossible to find the owner. He decided that the only thing he

could do was to keep the money. A lady found a purse at a filling station. The purse had in it the name of the owner and his address. She returned it by mail and received the hearty thanks of the young tourist. A party found a purse with a considerable sum of vacation money in it at Chautauqua, New York. The institution maintains a lost-and-found office. Much to his relief the person who had lost the purse found it at the lost-and-found office with its contents intact. A taxicab driver in Chicago found a very valuable jeweled purse with a large sum of money in it after discharging a fare. Knowing the owner and her whereabouts, he promptly restored the purse and its contents to her. In this way one might pile up an indefinite number of specific instances in which persons had found lost property. Each situation would differ somewhat in detail; some would differ radically. But out of them all there would probably emerge a general typical situation of finding property that someone had lost and of the general issue as to what would be the proper course of action to pursue. From all of them there could probably be formulated the working principle that when property is found the proper course of action is to restore it when the original owner can be found. Within this general situation there arise particular problems, such as what one should do when the owner cannot be found or when there is likelihood that too many owners may be found. The same would be true for situations involving telling the truth or being frank, and so on indefinitely.

The first step in generalizing an outcome is the selection of a situation for purposes of study that will fall close to the norm of a problem involving an identifiable issue. The variants in issues can then be studied in their relation

to the central, or typical, situation. The study of many situations in which the details vary will serve to sharpen the essential issue in the larger problem, so that, as in the case of lost property, a judgment may be formed as to what is honest conduct in dealing with lost property.

Only it must be carefully guarded that the details be not slurred over. Just what honest conduct is will be determined in the light of the specific details of a given situation. What is honest conduct in one set of details may not be honest conduct in another set of details. Each case must be judged on its own specific merits. This is just the danger of approaching the teaching of morals from the standpoint of abstract ideals or virtues. There is no such thing as abstract honesty. What is honest must always be judged in the light of the concrete details of a given situation. It is quite different, however, to arrive at a conviction as to what honest conduct is in a typical situation with reference to which varying circumstantial details are carefully taken account of. It is possible out of these details to abstract principles which may be generalized as working procedures in situations demanding specific honest ways of acting.

The observation of cases.—Another technique that has been used successfully for generalizing outcomes is the identifying of a desired outcome in various observed cases. This has been done by having the children, especially in the younger age groups, observe and collect incidents in which the desired outcome is involved in their own contacts with people. Another procedure is for them to collect incidents of similar situations from newspapers and magazines. Still another variation of this procedure is for the learners to collect pictures from the newspapers, maga-

zines, and other sources which illustrate situations in which the issue under consideration is involved. The educational results are heightened when these collections of stories or pictures are collectively done by the group and choices of materials and cases are made after discussion.

Among older groups the analysis of cases presented in their concrete and variant details will result in the sharpening of the essential issue and at the same time hold the issue to the realistic basis of experience.

Experimenting with the outcome.—Valuable as is the presentation of the type situation with its variants and the analysis of observed “cases,” the generalization of an outcome will be accomplished chiefly through experimenting with it in the varying situations which actual experience presents. If such a process is to possess a gripping sense of reality, it will avoid artificial constructs and deal directly with real situations as they arise. Manifestly this is a long process and leads to the abandonment of the idea that one trait can be “learned” and then dismissed for another. Behavior patterns are persistent and difficult to change. Much time is required for their modification. Proposed changes must be carried through consistently until it is clearly demonstrated that the characteristic in question has become an established part of the behavior pattern. These changes take place where the behavior pattern is operative—in actual experience. Experimenting with outcomes in real situations as they arise gives the desired dynamic mental attitude most favorable to vital learning. The results of such learning are deep-seated convictions as to the most fruitful ways of living and a vivid sense of reality and worth in those qualities

that in the disciplined judgment of the learner constitute the good life.

Creating a desire for the chosen outcome.—As has been suggested, if desire is lacking, the dynamic of generalization is absent. Before the educator can be sure that the ideal qualities of conduct arrived at in specific situations will carry over to other similar situations, he must see to it that these ideal qualities are deeply accepted and desired as ways of living, as constituting the sort of person the learner sincerely desires to be. This involves the whole matter of motivation. Motivation will be discussed in detail in chapter xiii.

Suffice it here to suggest that desire cannot be imparted to a quality of action from some source external to the quality itself. If it is to be real and vital, it must inhere in the process itself. Neither will it be possible to have the learner arrive at an intellectualistic conception of what is appropriate in conduct and *then* get him to desire it as a way of his own life. Appreciation and its accompanying desire inheres in, and emerges out of, the process of thinking, of discovery, of evaluation, of judging, of choosing. If the steps of learning as outlined in chapter vii are successfully followed through in any given situation, the moment of choice will be the normal issue of the process of discovery and evaluation. Choice in normal experience is the evidence and measure of desire. The outcome of a given situation, when left free and normal, is *chosen* because it is *desired*. The process itself must generate its own desire.

In motivation, however, as in the process of generalization, desire itself must be generalized. Out of the desired outcomes of many situations, because they have

meaning and worth to the learner, permanent general attitudes emerge, an organized set of values is in process of formation, and dominant purposes assume the rôle of control in behavior. Certain types of behavior are preferred because they fit in with this emerging set of values and these dominant purposes that have their roots in organized desire. Other types of behavior are rejected because they do not fit in with this set of values and these desires. As a result of this process of criticism, preference, and selection a growing desire to achieve a certain type of personality arises. Values in their integrated form are transformed into ideals and choices are transmuted into purpose. This is the final and most effective step in generalization.

UNDERSTANDING THE END OF EDUCATION

If, as was pointed out in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, learning, to be vital, must take place in specific and concrete situations, it is equally important that in the end it arrive at an understanding of the processes and meaning of life that can only come from some degree of detachment from the immediate, the specific, and the concrete. Moral and spiritual character is more than an organization of techniques and habits for dealing with concrete situations. To be sure, if it has failed in equipping the growing person with these techniques, so that he will be competent to manage specific situations, education has proved itself to be inadequate if not futile. But something more than a repertoire of formulas and procedures that fit immediate situations is needed. Effective character must be possessed of insight and comprehension with reference to the wider ranges and deeper meanings of ex-

perience. The supreme end of character education, as of all education, is *understanding*. Understanding is possible only when life is seen as a whole and in its larger relationships to other wholes. Its several aspects cannot be comprehended when they are viewed disparately, but only when they are seen in their relation to each other and to the total meaning and worth of life. Such insight and comprehension can only come from some adequate release from the immediate, the concrete, and the detailed into a wider and comprehending detachment.

Not only should one be able to see his life as a whole and in its widely extended framework of relations and functions, but he should be able to view it objectively and impersonally. When fixed upon the immediate, intelligence is apt to be too narrowly focused to comprehend the whole. The immediate is frequently too personal and too loaded with emotion to permit a cool and impersonal judgment concerning the issue involved. Under the urge of immediate and irrational desire one's sense of values tends to get skewed. Such an objective view of life, like understanding, is possible only with some degree of detachment—of release from the immediate, the detailed, and the concrete. It is not without significance that those outstanding historical persons who have specialized in moral and spiritual achievement have made much of this factor of temporary detachment and of occasional release from the immediate.

The arrival at insight and understanding through a process of abstracting meanings from specific and concrete situations is very different from dealing in education with inert abstract ideas as the beginning point of learning. These generalizations concerning life are the cumula-

tive meanings that have been distilled from its numberless concrete experiences. They are alive and dynamic because they are of the very substance of reality. Instead of being formal symbols corresponding to no vivid sense of reality, they are deep and vital convictions that spring up within the stressful movement of experience itself.

Thus the crowning function of generalization is *understanding* by which, through ideas, the growing person arrives at some integrated and consistent view of the meaning of his life, in the light of which alone its immediate and concrete experiences can be judged.

CHAPTER X

INTEGRATING RESPONSES

When the objective of education is conceived in terms of assisting the learner to achieve an intelligent and effective personality through initiation into a creative personal and social experience, a new problem presents itself to the educator. It is the problem of assisting the growing person to integrate his impulses, habits, ideas, attitudes, and purposes into a well-organized, consistent, and stable unity. As long as education has been concerned primarily with the transmission of knowledge or the inculcation of traits, skills, and habits, it has only remotely been conscious of this function. But as soon as education is oriented toward persons and the achievement of personality, the integration of the growing self immediately migrates from the margin to the center of interest.

INTEGRATION AND PERSONALITY

This is true because an effective personality is a closely and stably integrated personality. Integration is one of the fundamental criteria for judging a personality. As was suggested in chapter iii, in the lowest orders the impulses, habits, ideas, attitudes, and purposes that constitute personality are loosely organized and far from stable, so that the behavior of such a person is not consistent and cannot, therefore, be relied upon. In the more extreme forms of personality disorganization, there may be a dual or multiple personality. In that unhappy event two or more systems of impulses, habits, and ideas exist

side by side so that the center of personality shifts now to this system and now to that. While the center remains constant for a time within one of these systems, it acts consistently with that system. But the systems are not consistent with each other. The classic example of split personality is that of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. This phenomenon appears less dramatically but not less really in persons who identify certain motives and types of behavior with certain times and places and certain sets of ideas and attitudes, while other motives and types of behavior are associated with other times and places. In this way the same person assumes different rôles in different situations that set them off, perhaps in most cases in a manner of which the person himself is quite unconscious. Thus a saintly person within the framework of a church environment on Sunday may be a difficult person to deal with in an economic transaction in his office during the week, or difficult to live with in the framework of his domestic environment. He is merely assuming different rôles, each more or less consistent within itself. All radical transformations in behavior are the results of the radical shifting of the center of personality from one behavior system to another. When personal disorganization falls below the pathological level, insanity results, and the behavior of the person breaks down into dissociated fragments.

These negative results of the absence of personal integration or of the various forms of personal disorganization serve to sharpen the increasing insistence of vital education that personal happiness and personal effectiveness are dependent upon personal integrity, and that integration should be considered one of the most fundamental objectives of education. If education fails at this

point, its utter futility is obvious. Education should seek for that constant and gradual reconstruction of experience that makes personality splits impossible and that leads to a firm, consistent, and dependable unity of the whole self.

The integration of personality as an objective of education has been greatly accentuated by the conditions of modern life. The behavior patterns of earlier and more primitive types of social organization were much more close-knit than they are under the conditions of modern society. In primitive society the social group was a compact unity, and its relations and functions were shared by all its members. But as social organization has advanced it has tended to become more and more differentiated. The massing of population and the growth of specialized industrial processes, to mention only two of the major factors, has broken society down into isolated interest and activity groups that have little in common with society as a whole. In many instances great social distances have sprung up among these disparate groups. In so far as the person assumes his rôle in his group, his personality may be consistent within the group, but in the degree in which his group represents only a segment of social living, his personality will be partially developed and with a heavy list in the direction of some special interest or set of values. But under the conditions of modern life, one normally lives in many groups the interests and activities of which have never been organized into a total unified experience. While, under compensating conditions, this diversification makes for the enrichment of experience, it at the same time presents a new problem for constructive education—the problem of helping growing persons to achieve and maintain an integral self under the distracting

influences of a highly differentiated and centrifugal social experience. Whatever may be the function of education with reference to the integration of personality under any set of educational circumstances, education faces no greater or more difficult responsibility than to help the growing person to bind his experience into a consistent and continuous unity in the presence of an atomistic modern society.

THE BASIS OF INTEGRATION

As we have had occasion to record, especially in chapter iii, persons realize themselves through the experiences which they have. The basis for the integration must, therefore, be sought in those experiences. And, since experience resolves itself into the responses which persons make to the situations which their world presents to them, the approach must be through the organization of these responses into a consistent and progressive forward movement of experience, into inclusive behavior patterns.

These behavior patterns, however, must be conceived in their amplest content. Ideas in and of themselves are not adequate for such an integration. It is possible, after the fashion of Plato, to construct an ideally consistent world through formal ideas. But, as the modern mind has come to look upon reality, such a construct is not the real world. The emotions and impulses are too ephemeral and volatile to furnish a substantial and enduring basis of integration. Mere activity as such, even when regimented into fixed habits, does not furnish the necessary connecting tissue for the integration of the whole of life, at least if room is to be left for adaptation to a changing world and for the progressive and intelligent reconstruction of ex-

perience. The behavior pattern must include its full content of purposeful activity moving toward worthwhile ends, guided by intelligence, and warmed and made vibrant by appreciation.

Therefore, the demands of modern education for complete and integrated personality call for vastly more than formal ideas acquired through instructional processes. In educational experience, these bits of knowledge have lain about in the mind without ever necessarily constituting themselves into any system of thought. As has been previously suggested, the tragedy of most education on the basis of acquired knowledge, even in the college and the university, is that it consists for the most part of a ledger account of "credits," the sum of which entitles the possessor to the imprimatur of the institution. It is true that the Herbartians, feeling the difficulty of this result, worked for some degree of integration of *knowledge* through the correlation of *subjects*. But, even so, this gesture was made wholly upon the level of intellectualistic education.

Nor are we better off with a list of traits or virtues to be taught. These are listed as abstractions and are wholly disparate with reference to each other. As a matter of fact, the qualities of behavior never occur singly, but as interdependent aspects of whole behavior patterns. If the educator were to succeed in his fondest hopes of securing the result that a pupil would now be honest, then courteous, then open-minded, then co-operative, then industrious, then punctual, and then reverent, it would not at all follow that he would *as a person* be desirable. In specific persons involved in concrete behavior, many, if not all, of these qualities are inextricably blended in a total behav-

ing self. The educator is not dealing with traits or virtues, but with *persons* with identifiable qualities of behavior in specific and concrete situations.

Substantially the same comment may be offered in regard to the teaching of skills and habits. Habits and skills are quite specific. And, as we have seen, when they are too specific they may interfere with intelligent and effective action when the details of the situation are changed.

The school, in consequence, is under the necessity of organizing education in such a way that it will serve as a focal center into which all the experiences of the learner feed, where they get themselves interpreted, where their issues are made clear, where they can be analyzed for the factors of control, where their values may be criticized, and where they may be built deliberately into the enlarging and ever changing behavior system of a growing person adapting himself with intelligence and discrimination to his environing world. It is needless to suggest that the formal traditional school organized for the transmitting of ideas and the forming of habits is not adequate for this new responsibility. Such a school cannot be something apart from life. It must be a focal center of life and comprehend from its central vantage point all the areas of the learner's manifold experience. It must take its patterns from life as it is actually lived in the Great Society. It must make the child conscious of the Great Society with reference to which all his partial experience may be interpreted and judged. And it must feed back into these areas of his otherwise disparate experiences a vivid and compelling sense of the whole of life. The school cannot be just another institution, splitting the child's experi-

ence into still other fragments. It must set itself deliberately at the center of life and assume the responsibility of helping the child to see and understand and appreciate life as a whole.

FACTORS OF INTEGRATION

Vital education oriented toward the assisting of growing persons to achieve an intelligent and effective personality is far from possessing a smooth and dependable technique for securing the integration of personal and social experience. Nevertheless, there is increasing insight into the factors upon which the integration of experience rests. It is in the light of these factors that dependable procedures must be worked out for the unification of the total self.

Antecedent and consequent.—One factor that leads to the integration of experience is the relation of antecedent and consequent in what might be called a unilinear movement of experience. Experience is genetic in character. That is, no single unit of experience appears in isolation from other units of a continuous experience. A given movement of experience is more than just a series of events, like beads strung on a thread. Each event is an outgrowth of that which preceded it, as it, in turn, will give rise to further events. Unilinear experience presents an organic whole bound together by a connecting tissue of antecedent and consequent. Older writers would not have hesitated to speak of this connecting tissue as "cause and effect." The current scientific mind is more content to think of it in terms of antecedent and consequent.

The events in a series of experiences will be bound together in the mind of the experiencer when the connection

between antecedent and consequent is perceived, so that he will see a present experience growing out of what preceded it and having far-reaching consequences for the future. He will thus see the present moment of experience as a moving bond that unites the past and the future in a forward-moving continuum. In this continuum no single event stands in isolation from the other members of the series. It is organically bound into a forward-moving process. The habit of mind for which this perception calls is that of seeking the meaning and significance of the present experience in the past from which it has arisen, and of looking forward into the future to see what consequences the present experience will have upon the future.

Some of these relations between antecedent and consequent are quite near the surface of experience and are obvious. It is easy to perceive such connections. An injury may cause one to assume an entirely different rôle in his social group than he otherwise would have assumed. The death of a father may result in a son's abandoning his plans for a college education because of his new responsibilities to a widowed mother and dependent brothers and sisters. Contact with a personality may cause one to choose a certain vocation he otherwise would have passed by. Repeated failure may result in an established attitude of discouragement and inferiority. Membership in a particular social group may change one's entire outlook upon life. Thus, no matter where one catches up a thread of experience, it traces backward to some antecedent and forward to some consequent.

But by no means is this relationship of antecedent and consequent always close to the surface. Many of these bonds lie deeply imbedded in the unconscious. An ap-

parent overconfidence and aggressiveness may have its roots in a fundamental sense of inferiority. This is true of all compensatory behavior. Overzealous defense of one's beliefs may be the overt expression of an unconscious insecurity in those beliefs. Unaccountable interests in certain directions may be the result of thwarted or repressed interests in other directions. Our rationalizations of conduct root in irrational desire, which we seek by logical reasons to make reasonable. Certain temperamental moods may be the results of glandular or other somatic disturbances. Frequently the antecedents of present experience lie hidden in the conditionings of a remote and forgotten past. Often these bonds are so deeply hidden in the unconscious that only the analyst or the psychiatrist can recover them with his delicate specialized techniques.

The interrelatedness of different types of experience.—As one may speak of unilinear relationships in experience, so he may speak of lateral relationships between one type of experience and other types. Experience is extremely complex. It resembles the closely woven fabric of an intricate tapestry pattern with its interweaving strands of manifold texture and color. Times without number the most unexpected connections appear between types of experience that seem to be remote from each other. Rheumatism for which no apparent cause could formerly be discovered may now be traced to an infected tooth. Nervousness in a child and failure in school may be the result of maladjustment between parents or the subjecting of him by parents to excessive expectations or of surrounding him with overmuch anxiety. So that what appears to be a child problem is not a child problem at all, but a parent

problem. The "scientific" demonstrations of mental inferiority of non-Nordic races on the basis of tests devised by Nordics may have its roots in part in the fear of the "rising tide of color." Inevitable reconstructions of philosophical concepts and religious practices are the outgrowths of changing economic, intellectual, and social processes. The displacement of Chinese women engaged in the making of hair nets is brought about by the adoption of the mode of bobbed hair in distant America. The woolen market is disorganized because the dictators of fashions have modernized women's clothing.

In subtle ways like these, which might be multiplied indefinitely at random, the total experience of persons and groups is knit together into a whole tissue with one pattern. But the pattern is so large and so complex that one can easily miss it altogether and not even be aware that its fragments even hold together. The very nearness and intensity of the immediate fragments with which one has to do tend to blind him to the larger whole. As one threads his way through this maze of experience, he is like the mountain climber who, while he is ascending the trail, sees only the steep path in front of him and the surrounding tangle of trees and undergrowth. But when he reaches the summit, he sees the mountain and the far-extending landscape laid out before him in large but clear patterns. The natural sciences are helping us to become conscious of the vastly extended uniformity of reality in its physical aspects. If it were not for these uniformities there could be no sciences. The slow but certain advances of psychology and the social sciences are uncovering uniformities in the inner and associated life of man comparable with the uniformities in the physical world. To perceive this inter-

relatedness of the various types of experience is to see each event in its larger and universal framework, both in one's own personal experience and in his relation to the whole of reality. One who so perceives life can no longer think of any moment of his experience as isolated or fragmentary, nor of himself as a thing apart from the whole, but of both as caught up within a vast and intricate unity of life.

Adjustment to one's environment.—From what has been suggested in chapter iii, it is clear that this integration of the resulting personality is an integration of adjustments of the person to his environing world of things, of persons, and of social achievements. For this reason the integration of the environing world becomes a matter of primary importance in the integration of personality. This raises a very difficult problem for education. The problem is particularly acute with reference to the social environment. If the social environment is a close-knit and stable unity, the integration of personality is much easier. If that environment is broken and fragmentary, the problem is increased many fold.

The factor of adjustment to different types of environment is made impressive by such studies as that of social zones with reference to the problem of delinquency in the city of Chicago.¹ It was found that next to the Loop, where there is the least evidence of the stable institutions of society, delinquency is at its highest. In the zone lying in the boarding-house area, where the organized aspects of society are but little in evidence, delinquency reaches its second highest point. In the apartment-house residential section, where the patterns of organized social life in the family, in the church, in the school, and in other social

¹ Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*.

groupings are more obvious, delinquency declines markedly. In the zone of individual homes, where the organization and unity of society is most apparent, delinquency tends to disappear.

It is obvious that under the conditions of a highly differentiated modern society, where the adjustment of the growing person is not to society as a whole but to segregated fragments of the Great Society, it is extremely difficult to secure a sense of the social whole. It is equally obvious that education must deliberately set about helping the child to become conscious of the social whole and to adjust himself to it as well as to its isolated fragments.

Furthermore, education must work for discrimination in the adjustment process. And discriminating adjustment means that the various aspects of society, where they impinge upon the life of the child, must be assessed so that a judgment can be formed concerning them. If personality is to be definite and firm, the adjustment process must be carried through to completion, either by approval or disapproval, by acceptance or rejection, or by attempted reconstruction. In any case, some sort of satisfactory and complete adjustment must be made. Otherwise personality will remain amorphous, incoherent, indefinite, ineffective. That is to say, since adjustment of one sort or another there must be, education should work for selective adjustment.

An emerging scale of values.—In the experience of persons, conflicts arise between impulse and impulse, between impulse and habit, between impulse and the mores of the groups, between habit and habit. Conflicting desires cannot be realized at the same time and in the same degree. This means that choice must be made among de-

sires. In this adjustment, some desires will be satisfied while others will be denied. Some will take precedence while others will be subordinated. As a result of these conflicts impulses become conscious and are transmuted into desires. Out of the criticism, subordination, and organization which the adjustment of these desires necessitates, a scale of values emerges. In the light of this emerging scale of values each particular desire is assessed, approved, rejected, or modified. At first such a scale is indefinite, flexible, tentative. But as experience accumulates and the process of judging goes on, this scale of values becomes firmer, more consistent, and more determinative.

However important the factors that have been listed may be in the integration of personality, this forming organization of values lies closest to the center of creative personality. It is here that desire as the motivator of conduct is encountered. It is here that desires become rational, are criticized, and are organized into a consistent pattern. Here more than the springs of conduct are laid bare; in this organization of values the way is opened up for securing the behavior patterns of a personal experience directed by aware and intelligent criticism and warmed by emotion.

Seeing life whole.—Once education has opened up the field of values, the factors of integration are cumulative. An emerging scale of values, when carried through to its consummation, leads to the revaluation of values through criticism and organization. It is out of this process that life takes on a total meaning and worth. Each experience is judged in the light of that total meaning and worth. It now becomes possible for the growing person to see his own life whole. Furthermore, it now becomes possible for

him to see his own life in the total setting of what are to him the permanent and universal values of his universe.

The relation of such a revaluation of values to moral judgment concerning any given act is obvious. No act can be judged in isolation from the rest of experience. As we have seen, every event in experience is bound into a unity by the unilinear relations of antecedent and consequent and by the multilateral relations of many interrelated types of experience. Soundness of moral judgment, consequently, requires some central vantage point from which each event and each set of assumptions, impulses, and intentions involved in it, may be viewed.

And, as will presently be pointed out in chapter xiv, it is at this level that behavior begins to take on a religious quality. The content and pattern of religious ideas and practices are derived from the supporting practical life, but its religious quality inheres in the reference of all these experiences to the total meaning and worth of life.

And as this process of revaluation serves the highest function of personal and social experience in bringing it to a vivid focus upon the total meaning and worth of life, so at this level of criticism and organization of the values by which persons and groups live the human spirit has reached its highest capacities.

A dominant purpose.—It is out of this process of revaluation that judgments and choices are transmuted into a dominant life-purpose. At this level of experience the person develops the desire to become a certain *type of person*. Once formed, this purpose more than all else becomes the determinant of personality. It becomes the selective factor in conduct. In accordance with it, those types of behavior that further personality in the direction of the chosen end are deliberately sought while

those types of behavior that defeat it are deliberately avoided. The basis is laid for character as achievement. One is not merely moved by blind and unconscious drives from behind but also is drawn by the unrealized values that lie before him in an eager, dynamic, forthreaching attempt to create an ideal self. Qualities of personality have been transformed by desire into challenging and releasing ideals.

While this dominating purpose is giving integration to personality, it is also rendering it firm and stable. Its stability, moreover, is not that of inertia, but the stability of movement with direction in a forward-moving experience, a quality of stabilization increasingly necessary for effective living in a rapidly changing world.

Building up behavior patterns.—None of these foregoing factors, nor all of them together, will be adequate to secure an effective integration of personality until they have come to operate within comprehensive and stable behavior patterns. Ideas, values, sentiments, and ideals when dissociated from concrete experience are futile. Character can never be achieved through abstractions, however plausible they may be. Character is wrought out of the stuff of experience. Character education is dealing in futures only as long as it is content to end its procedures with ideals and purposes. Ideals and purposes must be carried through into concrete conduct.

But the problem of character is more than concreting ideals and purposes. Isolated fragments of habits can never, when summed up, be the equivalent of character. These fragments of behavior must be built into large and comprehensive behavior patterns—into wholes of conduct. The comprehensive behavior pattern is the response end

of the process of an adjustment to particular situations that are seen and judged in their relation to the whole of life.

So essential is the behavior pattern to the achievement of effective personality that a more detailed discussion than is here possible will be reserved for the final chapter. Suffice it here only to suggest that in this rôle habit reaches its highest function as an integrating bond of personal qualities. Only, in order to serve this end, habit must be kept flexible. Inflexible habit that persists as a fixed mode of particular behavior may become a source of disintegration. It must form an ever modifiable unit of a constantly changing and forward-moving complex of personal behavior.

Education has taken a long step in the direction of integration when it has oriented itself toward persons as persons rather than toward subject matter or abstract ideals or habits. It will find itself on firm footing in working out its techniques when it deals realistically with the experience which persons are actually having and through which they are realizing themselves. This highest end of education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience will come in part through assisting growing persons to see that all experience is bound into a unity through its subtle connections of relationships. It will also come in part through assisting growing persons to discover in these experiences their essential values and to combine them into an emerging set of values from which, through criticism and revaluation, a total meaning and worth of life in its relation to the whole of reality may be formed. The end of this process is a selective type of behavior organized in large behavior wholes that constitute a dependable and consistent experience.

CHAPTER XI

A COMMUNITY OF LEARNING

All that has been suggested in the preceding pages concerning the nature of the educative process—its objectives, its content, and its procedure—profoundly affects the way in which the nature and function of the school as a social institution shall be conceived. If persons realize themselves through the experiences which they have, it is clear that every experience which a growing person has is in one way or another directly involved in his education. The problem of the school becomes, therefore, that of securing the most fruitful organization of personal and social experience for educational ends.

Education in this vital sense is by no means to be identified with "schooling." It is now clearly recognized that many of the most educational results of the traditional school came, not from the subjects "studied," but from participation in the life and activities of the school as a social community. Always, as now, much of the most significant education of children and young people has resulted from informal experiences outside the school. It may even be true that, as a leading American educator has put it, the child, for the most part, is educated "in spite of the school."

It is equally clear, however, that if education is to arrive at fruitful ends, dependence cannot be placed upon the unconscious and undirected influence of informal experience. The function of the school as a social institution is to assist the immature members of the race so to organ-

ize their experience that it will be possible for them to achieve intelligent and effective personalities functioning in a coherent and effective society.

THE NATURE OF THE SCHOOL

In the light of these considerations, it is obvious that the school cannot be set up as an institution apart from life to which immature persons go to be "educated," after which they will return to real life to put into operation what they have "learned." If the school is to give the growing person guided experience in discovering and facing the issues of a realistic world, it must be set up as a focal center into which the representative experiences by which persons live and in which society is involved may be brought for analysis, for evaluation, and for solution. In such a school the experiences of living will not be forced into the rigid molds of formal subject matter and time schedules or into the schematic framework of traits and habits. Such a school will derive its pattern from the real and going experience of the persons involved and from the larger social experience of the society in the midst of which it finds itself.

In this way the school will be set up after the manner of a laboratory. The stuff with which it will deal will be life itself as it is going on in the personal experience of those who constitute the learning group and in the activities and processes of the environing society. Samplings from every area of experience where the fundamental issues of living are involved will be brought in for analysis and assessment. Abundant opportunity will be offered for experiments in living, undertaken, carried through, and judged under the guidance of the school.

Such a school will be a community of co-operating persons organized for the purpose of locating the issues and needs of living, of finding out what their meaning is, of discovering the values that are resident in them, and of undertaking their solution in the light of the best experience and standards of the race and the demands of the present. It will not be formal in the sense of the traditional disciplinary school. But it will none the less have definite organization and structure. Its organization, however, will be functional rather than authoritative. Its flexible patterns will be set by the changing needs of the learning process that is under way. It will be rich in stimulation, fellowship, resources, and opportunity.

EDUCATION AS OPPORTUNITY

Within this school, set up as a laboratory for dealing with real life in its manifold aspects, learning will be conceived as opportunity rather than as a program of set tasks authoritatively imposed. Within its stimulating surroundings the dynamic energies of persons in the making will be released for creative and worthwhile achievement.

The atmosphere of the traditional disciplinary school in which the processes of instruction and training were going forward has been for the most part inhibiting and repressive. Its program has consisted of assigned tasks to be performed. Moreover, these tasks were set by the representatives of adult society, and represented its sense of values and needs. In their determination the learner had no part. In no way did they represent his sense of values and needs. Consequently, they remained external to the experience of the learner. The atmosphere of the formal school has always been authoritative.

The defects of this type of school have been manifested in their negative educational results. One of these negative results has been the creation in the growing person of a general dislike of learning. Shakespeare's classic portrait of "the whining schoolboy with his satchel and shining morning face creeping like a snail unwillingly to school" is a permanent symbol of the tragic results of an external education that ends by causing the child to forswear education as an irksome burden unwillingly to be borne as long as it must be endured and to be done with at the earliest possible moment. A recent high-school graduate remarked at the close of the commencement program: "Now I have my diploma; the ——— school be damned!" This emotional release is doubtless extreme. Yet one hesitates to surmise how much joy at release from meaningless and set tasks on the part of numberless children and young people this emotional discharge may express.

Of course, such an attitude of resistance and boredom can only result in imperfect learning. When the learner's "heart" is not in the task, he will be held to it only by sheer force of will at best, or, at worst, under compulsion. But it is now well understood that the securing of forced attention in the face of contrary interests has the effect of dividing the mind. Under these conditions learning cannot be effective. Like all drudgery, education becomes boresome and exhausting, whereas joyful activity that is felt to be worthwhile releases energy and is zestful. Under such conditions even the assimilative function of the mind is reduced to its lowest level of effectiveness. Consequently, reliance must be placed upon drill with attendant inspection.

In keeping with these results, however, is another that

gives rise to an additional and unexpected problem in education. The active, forthreaching energies of normal human beings, having no opportunity for creative expression in education itself, expend themselves in compensatory activities. A recent writer on American undergraduate college life complains that there is no real intellectual interest among students.¹ His mind is saddened by the unhappy spectacle of a faculty with scholarly interests and pursuits sharply set over against a student body that has no intellectual curiosity or scholarly interests. To his academic mind this is an indictment of the undergraduate. He sees in it the certain omens of the progressive disintegration of the intellectual life of the college. As a matter of fact, however, as not a few educators are coming clearly to perceive, the major indictment is not of the undergraduate, but of the organization and procedure of college education. Having no opportunity to find expression of energies in creative intellectual achievement, the students find compensation in athletics, in the social activities of fraternities and sororities, in extra-curricular and off-campus activities. Normal persons do not seek release from, or compensations for, activities that are enriching and satisfying because they are felt to have meaning and worth in a forward-moving and achieving experience. Most of the problems of discipline have their origin in this same source. For this particular problem a word will be reserved for the final paragraphs of this chapter. The result of the inhibitions of the normal capacities for achievement is the expulsion of mind from education, leaving a sterile "schooling" that deals with inert, and therefore deadly, ideas. The total effect of such education is the intellectual disorganization of personality.

¹ Robert Cooley Angell, *The Campus*.

So that, as it turns out, and as clear-seeing observers of regimented, authoritative, and compulsory education are coming to perceive, much of our education as a program of set tasks has the effect of dulling what intellectual curiosity and capacity for scholarship the growing self may possess. It dulls one's mind to the intellectual aspects of his world and withers his appreciations. It is a tragic commentary on formal education that for the most part such education as is provided in the disciplinary school in literature destroys appreciation of noble literature as measured by the after-graduation reading interests of most products of the schools.

But, what is most costly and tragic of all the negative results of education as drill and inspection, the formal and authoritative school has the effect of ending learning with the end of schooling. Glad to be released from meaningless and external duties in which no joy is born of a sense of worth, the product of the disciplinary school turns his attention to the concerns of real interest to him, practically without reference to what the school has had to say about them. As a result, these permanent interests by which adults live have no educational direction in the form of criticism and evaluation. The net result is an "educated" Babbitty.

All of this does not mean that society can dispense with the school as a responsible social institution. It does mean, however, that the school needs to become critical of itself in the light of its results, to rethink its function, and to reset its procedures in the direction of vital and creative education.

Conceiving education as the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience resets the entire learning process in terms of opportunity. The func-

tion of the school becomes that of setting the learner in the midst of an open field of limitless and stimulating opportunity, of helping him to find his way around in the going world in the midst of which he finds himself, of placing at his disposal the vast resources of the race's experience and achievement, of making available to him expert guidance, and of surrounding him with a warm and zestful fellowship of like-minded searchers and achievers who share with him their values, their enthusiasms, their techniques, and their results. The basic pattern of such a school is guided creative activity. In those centers where experiments looking in this direction are under way, it has been demonstrated that education is releasing and that it possesses a zest that needs no compensations. It is perhaps not too much to expect that the time will come when people will seek out the laboratories of learning, as they now seek hospitals and technical bureaus, for the service they can render and the needs they can meet. When this is true, their rewards will be, not the formal symbols of grades, but the satisfactions of achieving ends worth while.

THE SCHOOL A COMMUNITY

In such a school of opportunity the social factor will be of great importance. The school will be a community of persons working together for the attainment of shared purposes.

The traditional alignment of the classroom for the transmission of knowledge through instructional processes has been a teacher-learner relationship. Initiative, responsibility, and authority rested with the teacher, while the part of the learner was that of assimilation, appreciation, obedience, and the carrying on of assigned duties. To be sure, superb teachers have always succeed-

ed in greater or less degree in lifting teaching far above this pattern, and they will always continue to do so in spite of the formal relationships and regimentations of the classroom, with its elevated desk, its serried rows of seats fastened to the floor, and its general atmosphere of discipline.

When, however, the classroom is organized as a community of persons engaged in the co-operative enterprises of learning, the alignment is very different. Its fundamental patterns are set by relations between person and person, between person and group, between group and person, and between smaller groups within the larger community. The structure of the group is determined by the functions and processes that are underway and by the needs that are being met. The status of each member of the group is determined by the contribution he is able to make to the common enterprise and the responsibility he is willing to assume. As a result, a greater value comes to be placed upon an enriching variety of viewpoint, method, and result than upon uniformity. Each co-operating member has his unique resources of capacity, interest, experience, and achievement. These he places at the disposal of the group for the enrichment of its common experience and the furthering of its common purpose.

The fruitful organization of the group as a co-operating community will be greatly furthered by the physical arrangement of the room. A teacher's elevated desk and formal rows of seats are inimical to the co-operating group relationship. The community attitude of mind is greatly furthered by an informal arrangement of the classroom. It will be well if the physical pattern of the room can approximate a board or committee room or a laboratory.

But, whatever the arrangement of the room, the es-

sential thing is that here a vital and real experience shall be under way in which, under mature and understanding guidance, the immature are coming into some understanding of the meaning and worth of their experience through exploration, discovery, appraisal, purposing, experimenting, and achieving together.

RESPONSIBLE LEARNER PARTICIPATION

In this co-operative community of learning the learner will be admitted whole-heartedly to responsible participation in the determination of the content, the procedure, and the results of the process. As was suggested in chapter v, if the learning situations are to be effective educationally, they must be real and present to the learners. The problems involved must be their problems and not simply the problems of teachers or adults. For this reason the first step of the teacher in his capacity as a guide will be to assist the learners in exploring their own needs and issues and in selecting those that require analysis, appraisal, and resolution. Responsible participation on the part of learners, on these grounds, should extend to the determination of the content of learning.

Responsible learner participation should also extend to the determination of the procedure of the learning process. If learning is to be valid, it will involve the steps outlined in chapter vii. These steps of analysis, criticism, evaluation, choice, and experimentation the learner must take for himself. They constitute the basic procedures in securing the intelligent mastery of a situation. This technique of intelligent procedure can only be learned in actually managing situations. It cannot be acquired by merely talking about them. And what is true of the smaller

units of learning is equally true of the entire process of acquiring the technique of analysis, of judging, and of executing by responsible co-operative determination.

Responsible participation must extend also to judging the results of learning. It is not enough that teachers, however expert and objectively minded, should pass judgment upon the quality of the work of the learner. If the learner is to profit by his trial-and-success method he must form a critical judgment of the validity and completeness of his own process.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF THE TEACHER

In this community of learning the place of the teacher, like that of the learner, is that of a responsible member of the group. He will desire no prestige or authority which his maturity, his experience, his more adequate knowledge, and his gifts of leadership do not confer upon him. He, like the learner, will think, not so much in terms of his status in the group, as in terms of the contribution which his expert knowledge, his experience, and his counsel can bring to the co-operative enterprise. He will not wish to fall back upon the external authority with which the institution clothes him, and if and when he yields to the temptation to do so he will understand that he has failed on the higher level.

His greatest contribution to the community of learning will come through sharing with the eager spirit of inquiring and achieving youth his own ideals and purposes, his insights, his enthusiasms, his experience, his techniques, and his achievements. Neither will the sharing be entirely on his side. Youth itself has contributions to make quite as valuable as his own. Youth brings to learn-

ing a freshness and directness of approach difficult for adults to retain in a sophisticated world. The mind of youth has not been canalized by habits, precedents, and prejudices. It fronts problems and issues with singular frankness. It has no status to maintain, no positions to defend. Its open-mindedness is to be matched only by its fresh and zestful enthusiasm. It is the testimony of teachers who share their responsibilities with questing and eager youth that they gain as much as they give.

In his capacity as a leader of a community of learning, the functions of the teacher will be fourfold. For one thing, he will be an inspirer. He will set his students in fields of opportunity and surround them with stimulating conditions. He will challenge and awaken the latent capacities of the young associated with him in the enterprise of learning. He will discover fruitful ways of helping growing persons to discover themselves and to find the sources of joy and release in creative achievement.

It will be a part of his function to help the group to organize its learning enterprise in the most fruitful way. His learners have yet to acquire a mastery of the fields they will explore. In their inexperience they could easily lose themselves in the details of an unfamiliar undertaking and waste their time and efforts in fruitless wandering. As an expert he will help the students to set up their learning enterprise in the most fruitful manner.

A third function of the teacher as a guide will be to assist the group in co-ordinating its purposes and resources. Within the group there will be many interests, many differences of capacity, many qualities and degrees of contribution which the several members can make to the total undertaking. In the absence of wise and masterful

leadership the group activity could easily disintegrate into manifold, unrelated, and fruitless efforts. The teacher will serve as a co-ordinating center, as an integrating factor, that will afford ample opportunity for the widest differences in interest and capacity as well as personal initiative, and at the same time will bind the entire process into a unified, effective, and forward-moving group effort.

A fourth function of the teacher will be that of technical counseling. As a technician he will be in command of the details of procedure and content that are necessary to a fruitful result. He will hold himself in readiness to make these details available out of his more ample scholarship and experience at the points of need as they arise in the group, from the setting up of the enterprise to its detailed execution. As a mature and experienced counselor he will bring to the group enterprise a much deeper insight into the process under way and a much wider comprehension of its scope than his students possess. His experience will enable him to foresee difficulties, to suggest techniques for places of difficulty, and to offer suggestions at points where the group has exhausted its resources. But in all this he will understand that if learning is to be effective and creative he must not pre-empt the initiative, the purposing, or the responsibility of the learners. Like John the Baptist, his ideal will be that his students may increase in the part they bear in the learning process while he decreases. The truest educational measure of his ultimate success will be the arrival of the time when his students can dispense with his services.

The degree of initiative on the part of the teacher will depend, to be sure, upon the maturity of the learning group. With very young children a greater amount of

initiative on the part of the teacher is required. As learners approach maturity and as their fund of knowledge and experience increases, they will be able to initiate more enterprises for themselves, make decisions at successive points in the process, and assume increasingly larger degrees of responsibility. A safe criterion to follow will doubtless be to throw responsibility upon the learner as completely as possible in the degree in which his maturity, his capacity, and his experience permit.

This conception of the place of the teacher as the leader of a community of learning by no means lessens his function. On the contrary, it greatly increases the demands made upon him. He will need sound scholarship so detailed and comprehensive that he will be at home in the open field of free investigation where he does not set the patterns of inquiry. He will also need to have command of the techniques of setting up and conducting investigations that partake of the essential nature of research. He must be prepared not only to conduct a thinking process but to abide by its consequences. Such a function calls for an engineering type of mind. More than these, he will need those personal qualities that constitute the gifts of leadership. The demands that will be made upon him will call for resources of personality as well as of scholarship and technical skill. These demands manifestly call for a new emphasis in the selection and preparation of teachers. Increasingly, as education becomes more vital and is conceived of in terms of opportunity and creativity, teachers will be selected from the point of view of dynamic and resourceful personality and their capacity to inspire and guide the young, as well as from the viewpoint of academic scholarship.

THE TECHNIQUE OF GUIDANCE

But vastly more than personality and scholarship are required on the part of the teacher as the leader of a community of learning. The process of leadership here described calls for a very specific technique—the technique of guidance. This is a technique so new in education that much experimentation will be necessary before it will become wholly clear in its outlines, and smooth-working.

The function of guidance is to be conceived of as active and positive rather than as passive and negative. Education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience is a guided experience. Young people cannot be thrown upon their inadequate resources in an aimless and fruitless wandering. They need not only to find their way about among the complex and confusing aspects of their own life and of the life of the Great Society, but they need to find their way about in the accumulated experience and achievements of the race. This is too difficult an undertaking for unaided youth. In their search for the issues and the meaning of the larger experience of an ongoing human life, they have the right to lay claim upon the best wisdom that mature and understanding guidance can give them.

The specific steps of guidance will be set by the steps by which the growing person learns to interpret, enrich, and control his own experience. These steps represent the specific points of need at which the learner will require assistance. One of the fundamental problems that will confront the teacher as guide will be the determination of the points at which he will become active in the learning process. Probably it is a safe criterion that the teacher should enter the process at the point of the learner's need,

at the point where his own unaided resources are inadequate to cope with the demands of the situation. If this be the proper criterion, it is obvious that these points of need will arise at the identifiable points upon which the learning process turns. These points were discussed in detail in chapter vii.

Guidance will become active in helping the learner or the learning group in discovering and judging the personal and social situations they are facing and the issues which they involve. As was pointed out in chapter v, without guidance the learner is likely to be incompetent to make this survey and to form this judgment. The teacher will assist the learner in setting up and organizing his search for the solution of these problems in such a way as will be practicable and fruitful. He will help the learning group in breaking down its major issues into their constituent problems so that the search may be progressive and cumulative and arrive at responsible results. He will help the learner to search his own experience and to criticize his ideas and attitudes to ascertain how far they are unverified assumptions or prejudices or uncriticized tradition, or objectively validated. He will help the learner find his way to the priceless sources of knowledge, techniques, and standards in the experience of the race and to evaluate those sources for their relevancy and validity. In the analysis of situations, he will help the learner not to overlook or neglect essential factors or outcomes. He will assist the learner in criticizing his outcomes in the light of the best knowledge and values of the race and of the new demands of the present situation so that his choices may rest upon a sound evaluation of conduct in the light of its factual setting and its personal and social consequences.

Out of these judgments he will assist the learner in developing appreciations and emotional warmth that will not only not leave learning cold and intellectualistic but will transmute values into accepted and desired standards of conduct. He will help the learner to see his chosen outcomes through and to build them into comprehensive behavior patterns. He will help him by experimentation to verify his experience and to build up within it permanent interests, permanent values, and permanent controlling purposes that will integrate his total experience into a coherent, consistent, and dependable whole.

THE PROBLEM OF DISCIPLINE

The problem of discipline, as was suggested in an earlier paragraph in this chapter, is almost completely reset in such a community of learning as has been described. Under traditional teaching techniques, the problem of discipline has always been a major problem. Under these techniques, where the teacher was in authority, discipline rested for the most part upon external control on an authoritarian basis. That was judged to be good discipline which secured silence, order, and effort. It consisted of the acceptance of the will of the teacher, of government by consent.

It is now clear that the major problems of discipline under traditional techniques were the normal outcomes of the learning situation itself. The repression and regimentation of energy seeking for free and creative expression resulted in boredom or in escape into forms of activity in no way connected with the learning process, and which, therefore, resulted in interference with the regimented life of the school.

Under the more vital approach of learning as opportunity in a shared creative experience, the importance of discipline is in no sense lessened. If anything, its importance is greatly increased. It is no longer a question, primarily, however, of more or less discipline, but of a different sort of discipline. It is well known that the discipline of responsible, self-directing groups is the most rigid kind of discipline. It is self-imposed discipline in the interest of ends that are judged by the group itself to be pre-eminently worthwhile.

The problem of discipline rests back upon the still more fundamental problem of control. As was pointed out in chapter ii, at the opposite poles from each other are two radically different conceptions of control. One is the conception of external, authoritative, superimposed control of one person or group over another. According to this conception, in the school the decisions are made by the teacher who represents a more remote overhead organization, which, in turn, represents the authority of adult society. Such control operates for the most part through the various forms of coercion, rewards and punishments, social pressures, and, where all other sanctions have failed, through the use of physical force. As is to be expected the reaction of the learner to this form of control is passive obedience, government by consent, or open rebellion.

At the opposite extreme from this conception of control is the conception of radical self-control. According to this view, each individual person follows his own impulses or judgments without reference to the wishes or purposes of others. Such a view shows a marked tendency to disregard the values and standards of racial and social

experience. Every person is a law to himself. The ultimate result of such a philosophy of control is sheer individualism or anarchy.

The philosophy of control suitable to a co-operative and responsible community of learning such as has been described is neither radical external control nor radical self-control, but co-operative control. Such co-operative control comes about through shared thinking, shared values, shared purposes, shared responsibility, and shared achievement. In such a situation control inheres in the process itself. In the light of worthwhile ends to be achieved, energies are released and given direction. Interests and activities judged to be irrelevant or to interfere with the shared enterprise are put aside, and the process is pressed through in the face of frustrating and distracting influences.

Such co-operative control is neither teacher control nor learner control set off in opposition to each other. It is a union of both types of control through an integration of personal and social factors that is more comprehensive and effective than either. From this point of view student self-government is quite as open to criticism as teacher or administrative control. The fundamental weakness in most educational situations is that three types of control are exercised in isolation from each other. Administrative groups decide issues from the standpoint of institutional policy without reference to their educational implications. Faculties, in turn, decide concerning academic problems in isolation from administrative interests or student concern. Students, in their turn, through radical systems of student self-government, decide issues from the point of view of students only. The fatal weakness in this prevail-

ing system is that each group attempts to decide issues that belong to an entire community. What is here contemplated is a form of control that represents the shared thinking, values, and purposes of the entire group. So that, while in time a particular group, whether it be administrative, faculty, or student, must assume the responsibility of final decision, such decisions ought always to be the outcome of facing problems together as a whole community with common interests. This type of control is vital rather than formal. It is the outgrowth of sharing facts, facing issues, thinking together, and arriving at common purposes.

In this way, while in the community of learning discipline is very real and very effective, it scarcely comes into consciousness as a problem. It is now the result, not of compulsion, but of participation. Consequently, discipline tends to disappear as a problem because it has become a resource for effective community action.

Some sort of discipline like this is necessary to the democratic way of life. It develops attitudes of initiative, co-operation, and responsibility which are indispensable requisites for co-operative living and achievement. Nor are these qualities necessary to successful social action alone. They lie at the very foundations of self-realizing personality and character. They are the very essence of creative social living. They are fundamental qualities of the moral and the religious life.

CHAPTER XII

APPRECIATION

The modern educationist, under the influence of current trends in psychology, is coming to a new understanding of the fundamental place of appreciation in education. An evidence of this new emphasis upon appreciation is the increasing place which art is coming to occupy in the newer types of progressive schools. This unmistakable trend makes for a shift of emphasis not only in the presentation of the formal subjects themselves but also in the increasing amount of time devoted to the plastic and graphic arts, to music, to rhythm, and to the drama.

AFTER ANALYSIS, SYNTHESIS

The analytical technique.—The traditional subjects and methods of teaching have placed the primary emphasis upon the intellectualistic content of education—upon abstract ideas. Even those subjects, such as literature and art, which lend themselves particularly to appreciation, have for the most part been taught through analysis. This has, of course, been especially true of the sciences and even of history. As a result, these great racial inheritances have been devitalized and regimented by rationalistic educational procedures.

This has been true of character education as well. Moral education has concerned itself for the most part with the analysis of conduct into traits and the inculcation of abstract virtues. It has in this way tended to become a study of the theory of the good life rather than an

experience in living the good life. The literature of character education is, for the most part, singularly lacking in its emphasis upon appreciation. Even in religious education, where it would be expected that much would be made of appreciation, the primary concern has been with abstract theological ideas, often in the form of catechetical instruction, and with drill in the facts concerning the Bible and religion. As a result it, too, has been coldly intellectualistic. This has generally been quite as true of the more liberal as of the orthodox and conservative religious groups.

To be sure, in this neglect of appreciation, character education has shared the general mental climate of the scientific point of view which has dominated modern thought since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The temper and procedure of science are characteristically analytical, and their attendant attitude of mind is that of criticism.

The need of synthesis.—But education is beginning to be conscious of the limitations of this technique. Critical intelligence is man's most recent acquisition. It is superimposed upon much older and much more deeply laid strata of irrational impulses, forthreaching yearnings, and emotions. It is the whole person that responds to total situations. Personal and social experience are much richer in content than sheer intellectualism.

The time has come in education, as in personal and social living, for synthesis—for the binding of isolated experiences together into a rich and meaningful total experience. Neither the individual nor society can live by analysis alone. Life, whether in the simplest living organism or in intellectual and spiritual persons, is a syn-

thesis. Any attempt to assist growing persons to achieve a creative personal and social experience is under the necessity of helping them to synthesize their experience. Our scientific traditions and habits of mind have made us at home with the techniques of analysis. Education has yet to work out a technique of synthesis.

Synthesis a special necessity for character education.—Whatever the necessity of synthesis for a comprehending and appreciative view in any field of educational experience whatsoever, such as physics or chemistry, among the natural sciences, or sociology and history, among the social sciences, it is particularly necessary in education for character. The ethical judgment, as we have had occasion to see, not only moves within its own specialized moral values, but plays upon the rightness or wrongness of all ends and means in every area of experience whatsoever. Like art and religion, ethics is concerned not only with criticism, but with appreciation. Its analytical judgments come to fruition in the good life as permanent attitudes that root in an integration of the fundamental values of living. They are directly concerned with the total meaning and worth of life. As was pointed out in chapter x, integration is a primary necessity in the achievement of any effective sort of personality. And, as was there pointed out, the most essential factor of integration, from the standpoint of creative experience, is an emerging scale of values. These values function in personal and social experience through the appreciations. It follows, therefore, that no technique of character education that does not rise to the level of appreciation can be adequate for the achievement of moral personality.

HOW APPRECIATION ARISES

It is necessary, therefore, for those who would assist growing persons to achieve moral personality to inquire as to the way in which appreciation arises.

Appreciation arises within the valuational attitude.—Obviously, appreciation of every sort whatever arises within the valuational attitude. This is true whether it comprises one's aesthetic appreciations, his social appreciations, his economic appreciations, his ethical appreciations, or his religious appreciations. These represent for him certain goods, certain values.

The psychological pattern of values.—The psychological pattern within which values arise is becoming increasingly clear. All value rests, fundamentally, upon the native impulses and capacities of man's original nature. These impulses, or urges, are the basis of all desire. Desire is the outreaching of the self toward those aspects of its environment that are capable of satisfying these urges. Desire invests certain objects in the outlying world with worth. Thus worth, or value, which attaches itself to objects that are capable of satisfying desire is the objective aspect of an undifferentiated process of which desire is the subjective aspect.

In this way food is valued because it satisfies a yearning that grows out of an urge of human nature. Objects of art, such as statuary, architecture, and painting, or natural objects, such as mountains, seas, and sunsets, have worth because they bring satisfaction to the yearning for proportion of line and mass and for certain combinations of color. Music and the dance have value because they answer to the rhythmic quality of human nature. Physical activity, as well as mental activity, are sought because

of the innate tendency of human nature to be active, to seek outlets for its dynamic energy, and to be restless when its outlets to action are obstructed.

As in the case of subhuman behavior, these yearnings which pass more or less directly to the realization of the ends which they seek are for the most part only dimly conscious, if they are in consciousness at all. In the case of the more unconscious desires, these native urges express themselves through restless yearnings. In the case of other desires, such as are involved in certain forms of aesthetic enjoyment, the object and the experience of appreciation are sometimes quite vividly in consciousness, as when one is deeply conscious of the enrichment of friendship, or is suffused with a glow of pleasure at beholding a beautiful sunset, or is emotionally moved by the lofty masses of mountain heights.

However, the sense of conscious value arises for the most part within the gap that comes in an experience between a situation and the response that is made to it. The gap may be caused by an interval of delay, by frustrated activity moving toward unconscious ends, or by the presence of two or more possible responses among which choice must be made. The gap is occasioned by some form of delay, suspense, or effort.

It is not for the most part until this gap appears that ends toward which activity is moving are raised into consciousness. So long as activity is free-flowing, unconscious irrational desire tends to pass on smoothly to its fulfillment. One who is in perfect health is likely not to be conscious of health. The organs of his body simply go on functioning smoothly and uninterruptedly. In perfect health a person is not even conscious of his organs. But

let an organ be disturbed so that it does not function smoothly, let its functioning be thrown out of its delicate interrelation with other organs, and it is instantly raised into consciousness in the sharpest possible manner. Thus one might go through life without ever realizing that he had a liver or a thyroid gland or a vermiform appendix. But when the function of any of these organs is disturbed, he becomes more conscious of it alone than of all the rest of his body.

The same interval of delay that raises an end into consciousness also causes value to be attached to it. Desire becomes rationalized. In the presence of this delay between impulse and end, the yearning outreach of the self toward ends becomes differentiated into desire within the person, on the one hand, corresponding to value consciously perceived in the end, on the other hand. The one is subjective; the other is objective.

Even those values that emerge into consciousness in the absence of anything that could be described directly as a crisis situation, such as the appreciation of friendship or the aesthetic enjoyment of beauty, are greatly enhanced by the coming of an interval of delay between the situation and the response. Certainly Tennyson greatly enjoyed the enriching friendship of Arthur Hallam, but it was the death of Arthur Hallam that gave us "In Memoriam." The ancient Hebrew found satisfaction in the unbroken ritual of the temple, but Psalm 137 could have been written only in exile. Life's dearest treasures, be they friends, health, vision, wealth, objects of art, or opportunity, are vastly enhanced in value when their possession is placed in jeopardy or when even the shadow of potential loss lies athwart them.

Thus it may be said that while any object in the outlying world that is capable of satisfying the native urges of human nature has value, the more vividly conscious and rational values emerge out of those situations in which an interval of delay intervenes between the situation and the response, due to suspense, delay, or effort. Furthermore, it may be said that the deeper, more fundamental values are in one way or another concerned with the basic issues of life in which its survival or well-being are directly or indirectly involved. These issues occur most vividly and impressively when they are subjected to delay or suspense, either actual or potential. Thus the sense of value arises out of, and hovers over, conative activity, whether it be the outcropping into consciousness of more or less blind yearnings and satisfactions or the emergence of vivid and impressive rational and criticized value that springs up within the interval of delay between desire and its realization.

Only, the intervening delay, the suspense, or the difficulty must not be too great. If the interval exceeds a certain limit, desire becomes futile and the end is abandoned as impracticable. "Hope long deferred maketh the heart sick."

Within this interval of delay, a very significant transfer takes place. Once the self is separated from the desired end, it sets about the invention of means for the attainment of the desired end. If the means is successful, it comes to share in the worth of the end itself, so that a part of the value that at first attached only to the end now comes to attach also to the means. In some instances that transfer may be so complete that after the end has entirely disappeared value continues to attach to the means. Thus,

what was once only a means toward an end may now become an end in itself. And, strangely enough, when all vitality has gone out of the means it may be so firmly supported by precedent and authority that it may impose itself as an inflexible and authoritative requirement, coercive in direct proportion to its age and acceptance. This interesting psychological phenomenon explains the persistency of certain moral customs and religious ceremonies quite inexplicable on other grounds.

The generation of emotion.—This valuational psychological pattern exhibits another significant phenomenon that throws light upon every aesthetic, ethical, or religious appreciation. This interval of delay between the situation and the response fills up with emotion. It is well known that every situation involving values of one sort or another is warm with feeling. This is why all aesthetic and religious experience is emotional. It may be said that in the degree in which the values involved are immediate and fundamental to the survival and well-being of the self, the emotions generated are profound. In this matrix of delay and suspense are generated the deepest emotions known to human experience.

Sometimes these emotions tend to express themselves in overflow or anticipatory activities, as when the hunter for big game trains the sights of his rifle upon the imaginary quarry or the amateur public speaker keeps running over his lines. In particularly tense situations involving great issues, the emotions generated may be so powerful as to disarrange the entire response mechanism, as in stage fright or the inability of the lover to bring himself to the point of proposal. This is why art and religion have always been so closely identified with the emotions. The

open way to an understanding of these profounder experiences of appreciation is through the genesis of the values out of which they emerge.

Thus Van Meter Ames has shown with clear insight that the aesthetic sense arises out of problematical situations that in one way or another involve the fundamental issues of the normal process of living.¹ From his point of view, appreciation comes to the forthreaching self at the moment when, poised midway between the feeling of a problem and the search for its solution, it contemplates the values involved in the problem and its dénouement.

A scale of values.—The contemplation of any value, to be sure, is related in one way or another to the contemplation of other values. These values always present themselves to the self in connection with ends that possess more or less worth because of their capacity to bring satisfaction. Sometimes values are in conflict and need to be reconciled. The result, as was pointed out in chapter x, is an organization of particular values into a consistent system of values. The result is a scale of values. In this way, in time, each aspect of experience comes to have its own scale of values, be they economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, moral, or religious. These sets of values are not only worked out for each individual, but for the continuing group. These systems of values are handed down so that each human interest has its canons of appreciation and judgment. This is the basis of taste in art. In the intellectual experience it is the basis of the truth judgment. In ethics it is the basis for judgment as to what is good or bad. In religion it shows itself as a comprehending, integrating,

¹ *Aesthetics of the Novel*.

and idealizing summation of all values whatsoever into a total meaning and worth of life in its cosmic relations.

APPRECIATION THE OUTGROWTH OF SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

From the foregoing considerations it is clear that ethical appreciations spring up within the current of experience. They are to be sought in specific situations encountered in the normal process of living—in the family, in vocation, in citizenship, in recreation, in social relationships, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the enjoyment of the beautiful. Moreover, they are to be sought, not where life flows on smoothly and uninterruptedly, but where the gaps caused by perplexities and problems occur in experience. It is at these points that one becomes vividly aware of life. It is here, also, that its issues bring to light the deepest values of the good life. Here life's meaning becomes clear, or, if its complexity is beyond the range of human solution, it derives part of its significance from the very fact of its inscrutability.

This fact does not imply that ethical appreciation floats evenly upon the smooth surface of day-by-day experience. Experience has its lowlands, its plateaus, and its cloud-piercing heights. These high and bright spots come at infrequent intervals. But they come when life is set in new relationships and when unexpected insights lay bare its depths. The appreciations which they bear spring out of the glowing heart of great issues.

It follows from considerations such as these that the ethical appreciations of the good life are, in their essential nature, not something that can be cultivated as things in themselves apart from the warm, moving, and stressful

current of actual living. Like aesthetic beauty, if too assiduously sought as ends in themselves, they tend to elude the seeker or to degenerate into sentimentalism, on the one hand, or into smug pharisaism, on the other hand. The vantage points for their discovery are the crucial experiences wherein are disclosed the fundamental issues of personal and social living.

APPRECIATION A DYNAMIC EXPERIENCE

In any case, ethical appreciation is an active and dynamic, not a passive, aspect of experience. It is involved directly in the processes of discovery and achievement. When these appreciations lose contact with creative experience, they tend to lose their sense of reality and their dynamic quality.

In this respect the cultivation of ethical appreciation has much to learn from the more recent trends in the teaching of art. The traditional procedure in teaching appreciation in art, literature, and music has been chiefly through the pursuit of appreciation as an end in itself. Literature, art, or music that is judged to be "good" by adults has been presented to the passive learner, quite apart from any reference to his own meaningful experience. Most frequently, appreciation has been sought through the analysis of the content and structure of these aesthetic products. As an inevitable consequence, the spirit of the learner has remained cold and impassive. Appreciation, under these techniques, becomes external, conventional, and sophisticated. The real test of appreciation, on the other hand, is a growing enjoyment of literature, art, and music—the development of emergent tastes into permanent and enriching interests.

In the light of this active quality of appreciation, modern education is devising new and effective procedures for securing appreciation as one of the fundamental objectives of learning. These procedures start with the going and meaningful experience of the child, and with his own active outreaching toward values that are of vital significance to him. They approach the appreciation of the great aesthetic achievements of the race through the child's own creative aesthetic expression. It is fundamental to these new techniques that appreciation is not something that can be *given* to the child. It must develop *within* him if he is to possess it at all. The first step in these procedures is "to take the lid off" and wait for the expressions that spontaneously arise out of the child's meaningful experience. The results which Mr. Hughes Mearns has secured in the writing of poetry by junior and senior high school boys and girls are nothing short of thrilling.¹ He finds that to a surprising extent boys and girls write poetry as spontaneous expressions of their feelings about life. These casual products are usually kept in the privacy of a desk or a room. The new procedures watch for these products and seek to give them direction and have them shared. One who reads the anthology of the Lincoln School is struck with the high literary quality of these productions. Some of them have been judged by competent literary critics to be worthy of inclusion in the collections of the best contemporaneous poetry. On this basis, it is not to be wondered at that a passionate love for literature arises in these children. Neither is one surprised that a penetrating discrimination is acquired in the criticism of classical and contemporary verse. Their in-

¹ *Creative Youth*.

terest in, and enthusiasm for, literature competes on an equality with their enthusiasm for sports—an unheard-of phenomenon under traditional techniques of external inculcation.

PLACEMENT AMONG THE STEPS OF LEARNING

Where, then, shall appreciation find its place among the steps of learning in meeting and responding to the meaningful situations which life presents to the growing person?

It would seem obvious that, however much appreciation may be diffused among all the steps of learning, it focalizes at the point where the values in the experience most vividly appear. If, now, we retrace the steps of learning as outlined in chapter vii, it is clear that this point occurs where the alternate possible responses come into view, where each of them is judged with reference to an emerging scale of values in the light of their projected social consequences, where a choice is being made and a purpose is in process of formation. It is through this process of comparing, of judging, and of choosing that values emerge. It is through this continued process that scales of values are created for any type of experience and for the good life. In art it is at this point that the aesthetic taste is for the most part formed. In ethical character, it is here that judgments and choices concerning specific courses of conduct are transmuted into a life-purpose. In religion, it is here that every experience gets itself assessed in terms of the total meaning and worth of life.

Van Meter Ames concludes that appreciation arises at the moment when the mind is poised between the feeling of the issue involved in a situation and the glimps-

ing of the values involved.¹ On the basis of the analysis in this chapter and in chapter vii, the author would place it near the end of the solution, at the moment when a commitment is being made to the chosen outcome. In that event it follows reflective thinking and evaluation and is the result of them.

The psychological basis of appreciation, then, is a discovery of the values that are resident in the forward-moving and meaningful experience of the growing person or of the group of which he is a member. These values, very old and coming to repeated expression in the experience of the race, are re-created in the experience of each growing person as he finds his way about in a complex, ever new, and ever expanding world. And for this reason these values are not simply the re-creation of old racial values. They are in process of creation through expansion, fresh insight, and breadth of comprehension of the deeper and more detailed elements in an expanding and creative human experience.

THE ADEQUATE EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION

It must, therefore, be regarded as one of the functions of education to give adequate expression to these appreciations of the qualities of the good life when and where they arise in the response of persons to situations. This means that the forms of expression of these appreciations in their natural setting will need to be quite informal, spontaneous, and occasional. It also means that these appreciations will need to create their own appropriate mediums of expression at the moment when they arise. These moments are to be watched for and seized upon as

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 26, 31, 49, 172.

those luminous points from which life is seen in new relationships and from whence new meanings are discovered.

Once these initial expressions have been secured in their natural setting of meaningful experience, a second function of education is to attach these appreciations to permanent symbols. These symbols, being saturated with meaning, may be utilized for the stimulation and re-creation of these appreciations in subsequent experience. In this way symbols enrich and extend new appreciations, while new appreciations extend and enrich the symbols. In this respect the symbols of appreciation in the good life, as in the experience of art and religion, are like words whose function it is to sharpen meanings and to render them manageable. As we have seen, words are of worth only when they answer to experience. So it is with the symbols of virtue. They have power to reawaken ethical attitudes because they are saturated with the values that have arisen out of actually living the good life. The power which they possess in and of themselves to reawaken present ethical attitudes is enhanced by the recognition that they have been shared by many persons in the past and that they are contemporaneously shared by many others who have deep convictions concerning their value.

The educational meaning of all this, of course, is just this, that the symbols of the moral life—its precepts, its virtues, its codes, its ideals—are inert when they are approached without a supporting moral experience. So long as they are not rooted in actual personal and social experience they are powerless to carry conviction, to awaken enthusiasm, and to make a difference in the practical conduct of life. But if ideals and moral codes are the outgrowth of a concrete and personal experience of the good

life, they become the carriers of the values that have been created there and have the dynamic power to re-create these values in a forward-moving and expanding experience.

LIVING, A WORK OF ART

So that, as it turns out, living is after all a fine art. We have had much to say in the course of this discussion concerning intelligence in the analysis and control of experience. To this end character education will make the utmost use of knowledge, criticism, and analysis. It will utilize the scientific technique in the discovery and the utilization of the factors of control. But if education for character is to exhaust the possibilities of human experience and to carry its undertaking to a creative level, it will seek to discover values, to release the deeper springs of emotions, to evoke appreciations, and to achieve a synthesis of the integral self. At this level of values, appreciation, and synthesis, living has become an art—the loveliest, the most spiritual, and the most satisfying of all the fine arts.

CHAPTER XIII

MOTIVATION

First and last, the problem of motivation is one of the most fundamental and central of all the problems of education. Educators who have employed the techniques of instruction and training have always been forced to face the residual problem: How can we get children and young people to do what they know they ought to do but what they do not want to do? How does the problem of motivation present itself in a procedure based upon the conception of education as the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience?

MOTIVES IN LEARNING NOT DIFFERENT FROM OTHER MOTIVES

The most fruitful approach to an understanding of motives in education is through an inquiry into the motives that impel persons to act in other practical situations. Education is here conceived, as was suggested in chapter xi, not as a formal process apart from the going experiences of life, but as a vital process immersed in the experience of persons and groups as this experience relates to the Great Society and is concerned with its fundamental and representative issues. In this setting education becomes a practical enterprise comparable with the other practical enterprises that constitute the round of personal and community living. The same persons and the same psychological processes are involved in the one as in the other. If it is possible to ascertain why persons act in

other practical situations, it is possible to uncover the springs of action in education.

While it is possible to identify and list the motives that impel persons to act in practical situations, as a matter of fact the motives that operate in any given situation may be mixed and are not infrequently complex. In concrete behavior these motives mutually condition each other. It is doubtful whether any motive that may be listed ever acts independently of other motives. It will be better, therefore, to think of motives in terms of modes rather than in terms of sharp and specific identification.

The impulses of original nature.—Underlying all other incentives, persons are impelled to action by the impulses of original nature. The older psychologists spoke of these native urges as “instincts.” In the earliest form of the idea, most actions were ascribed to instinct conceived quite generally. Later, particular forms of behavior were traced to particular instincts. Professor William James, building on the earlier work of Preyer and Schneider, listed twenty-nine of these instincts.¹ Professor Edward L. Thorndike suggests a shorter list.² The general tendency has been in the direction of giving less attention to instincts, even of the most particular sort, and of identifying specific and concrete responses to specific and concrete stimuli or situations. The sociologists have sometimes preferred to speak of “wishes”—for recognition, for security, for response, for new experience, for release, and for aesthetic satisfaction.³

However listed or described, these urges of man's origi-

¹ *Psychology*, II, 404 ff.

² *The Original Nature of Man*, pp. 50 ff.

³ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*.

nal nature are the basic determiners of the objects of desire and of their capacity to bring satisfaction or annoyance. They cause one to take a preferential attitude toward the various aspects of his physical world, toward his fellows, and toward different types of experience. They impel him to seek those objects that bring him satisfaction and to avoid those objects that bring him annoyance or pain. These impulses are the well-spring of his desire and the ultimate source of all his values.

For the most part these impulses act blindly. They show themselves as yearnings and restless seeking for the objects of desire. In animal life they may never emerge above the threshold of consciousness. In man they remain for the most part irrational and unconscious. It is only when desires come into conflict with each other or there is an interval of delay between the yearning and its satisfaction that these urges become conscious. Under the conditions of conflict and delay these impulses become rationalized and are transformed into desire proper.

To be sure, these impulses are modifiable and capable of redirection. Through sublimation the crude behavior patterns that rest upon such original tendencies as those of food-getting, sex, herding, and fighting are transformed into the delicate patterns of art, association, and achievement. But whether conscious or unconscious, crass or redirected, these native, inborn tendencies of man's original nature furnish the substratum of all desire, of all sense of value, of the ultimate motives upon which men act.

Social pressure.—Persons are also impelled to act in practical situations from social pressure of various sorts. Of these there are several identifiable types corresponding to as many stages in the development of the social will.

In its earliest and most elemental form, social pressure

takes the form of a constraint which the group itself unconsciously brings to bear upon the individual. It operates for the most part through the mores of the group. These are the accepted modes of action, and if the individual varies from them in any perceptible degree, the group makes its displeasure felt through subtle forms of disapproval. The person who fails to conform to the folk ways shares with the group the sense that he does "not belong." He is an "outsider." This social constraint is very coercive. It operates in primitive society, where behavior is more rigidly bound by the social will than in any other type of social organization.

In a more advanced stage social pressure becomes conscious and intentional. Certain ways of doing things are reflected upon, criticized, and consciously selected as necessary to the welfare of the group. Mores, which were mere customs, now become morals. Certain types of behavior are sanctioned by the group while other types of behavior are repudiated. The group at this stage of social pressure accompanies conduct with positive sanctions, either by approval or by censure.

In its most advanced development, social pressure is not only conscious and intentional but preinstituted and formal. It operates through regulations decided upon and adopted in advance of conduct and formulated as rules and laws. To the other external sanctions of social approval and disapproval are added the sanctions of specific penalties for the infraction of these rules and laws. In the last resort appeal is made to force, and, in extreme cases, to force to the uttermost. In the state law is backed up by the unlimited power of sovereignty.

While force is the ultimate sanction upon which law

rests, it is by no means limited to the enforcement of legislation. It is not infrequently invoked in affairs between persons, between groups, and between nations. Informal social groups get their will enforced through appeal to terrorism in local communities or over larger areas. Group antagonisms, as in the industrial struggle, frequently appeal to force in order to compel compliance. War is the apotheosis of force as a sanction of group will.

Rewards and punishments.—In less formal relationships, especially in the school, rewards and punishments are used as incentives to desirable conduct and as deterrents from undesirable conduct. On the battlefield men will undergo the greatest dangers for the *Croix de Guerre*. In literature, art, and science men will put forth their best efforts for the coveted prize or medal. On the other hand, persons of non-co-operative spirit will restrain their individualistic tendencies because of the pain and humiliation that come from the penalties of social discipline.

To be sure, at least up to a certain point, rewards and punishments are only secondary incentives. In order to be effective they must appeal to the native tendencies of human nature or to the sociologist's "wishes," such as the desire to avoid pain or the desire for recognition.

Competition.—Closely allied with rewards and punishment as incentives is competition. This, too, roots back in the native tendency toward rivalry and the satisfaction which success brings, as well as in the desire for recognition. The incentives of these urges are greatly heightened by being placed in an organized social situation, where the acclaim of the group brings one satisfaction or the humiliation of defeat brings him pain. This incentive has always been one of the chief reliances of traditional education,

and never with greater effectiveness than among the Jesuits with their military school organization that reached down to paired rivals. The golf and tennis tournament, the world baseball series, the thronged stadium, the yacht race—all these are witnesses to the zest which sharp competition gives to both actors and spectators.

Necessity.—In a world set up as our world is, in order that certain desired ends may be attained, certain other things *must* be done. Arrival at a destination entails arduous and sometimes inconvenient travel. The goods of food, clothing, and shelter must be secured as the fruits of hard and long-continued productive labor. If the household is to be orderly, happy, and healthy, the dishes must be washed and food must be prepared with great care. Mastery of the violin follows long and patient years of practice. Ability to deal with the quantitative aspects of our world necessitates a knowledge of the fundamental operations of arithmetic and, in the higher quantitative functions, of algebra and calculus. The athlete must put and keep himself in condition at the cost of much sacrifice of immediate satisfaction. So, through the wide ranges of personal and social experience, goals that are sought after lie at the ends of trails that are sometimes long and always filled with sequential steps of things that must be done before the coveted end can be achieved.

A sense of worth in the thing itself.—The highest incentive upon which persons act is a sense of the intrinsic worth in the enterprise itself. This sense of worth arises from the values that reside in the desired end and in the means that are necessary to the achievement of the end. The incentive that derives from values does not come into the process from the outside. It is resident within the

process itself. In its highest form, it arises from values that are clearly perceived, weighed with other values, criticized, and brought into some consistent form of organization. Such motives are the result of clear thinking, the facing of issues, and the choosing of that which is capable of giving the greatest satisfaction in the light of all the needs of human nature. It is the result of what we have spoken of as an emergent scale of values. In its highest form it is a desire, not simply to have or do this or that specific thing, but rather to achieve permanently worthwhile ends and to become a certain sort of person.

This is the process that we have previously referred to as the transmuting of values into choices and of choices into purposes. In concrete experiences it is this sense of the worth of ends that unites the person with his needs, his interests, and his desires to the end that is seen to possess value in itself. The fusion of end and desire releases energy and gives it direction. In normal experience, persons pursue ends and engage in activities because these ends and these activities bring them satisfaction, because they answer to some desire welling up out of a sense of values. And the normal development of this kind of inner motivation is the emergence of ideals, permanent ambitions, and a steadfast purpose to achieve a certain kind of selfhood.

TYPES OF MOTIVE

From this listing of the incentives that impel persons to act in practical situations, it is possible to discern two fundamental types of motive. Here, again, it is impossible to think of two sharply differentiated types of incentive. In practical experience they greatly overlap and mutually

condition each other. But it is possible to detect two characteristic modes of motivation.

The vis a tergo.—One is a *vis a tergo*, a force from behind. This motive is external, negative, authoritative, coercive. It works, in part, through blind impulses of original nature impelling one, often in the most irrational ways, without any sense of why one acts or in what direction his action is leading him except toward the immediate satisfaction of his desire. It works through the various forms of social pressure according to which the will of the group is imposed, either consciously or unconsciously, upon the individual. Under these pressures the individual may willingly comply, not being aware of the subtle constraints that group thinking and the group customs bring to bear upon him. Nevertheless, in point of origin and determination the choice is the choice of the group and only by psychological imposition his own. In extreme cases the *vis a tergo* assumes the form of physical force working the utmost will of the group over the unwilling protest of the person whose values, ideals, and purposes are at complete variance with those of the group, whether the victim be the criminal being led to the electric chair, Socrates drinking the hemlock, or Jesus going to his cross.

The pull of worthwhile ends.—At the opposite extreme from this push from behind is the incentive which operates as a pull from in front, as the grip of ends that in themselves are felt to be worthwhile. It arises from envisioning ends that are felt to be capable of bringing satisfaction as compared with other ends. It consists of the identification of the self with these ends and a forthreaching toward their realization. It springs from a sense of values. It is outreaching, active, affirmative, dynamic, releasing. In

this type of incentive attention and purpose are fixed upon the as yet unrealized possibilities of life. It operates at the point where experience is cutting into new reality. It is creative. Like the faith of the heroes in the New Testament, it gives substance to things hoped for and makes real things not yet seen. It is a positive quest after a fuller and more satisfying life.

It is needless to remark that education as instruction and education as training, both working on the outside of the person's own growing and active experience, have had to have recourse to the *vis a tergo* motivation. Since for the most part the set tasks of education had little or nothing to do with the experience, the needs, or the creative energies of the learner, they found and left his spirit cold. As a consequence, it became necessary to invent incentives for doing what he possessed no intrinsic inclination for doing. It is not surprising, therefore, that education has vacillated from offering rewards, on the one hand, to threatening with punishment, on the other.

The negative results of this type of motivation upon education have been grave. The effect of boredom under forced discipline had the effect of dividing the mind among competing interests and leading, as far as formal schooling had permanent results, to the disintegration of personality. And, what was quite as serious, it led to the vitiating of the educational process itself. When external *vis a tergo* motives failed, as they not infrequently did, recourse had to be had to "jazzing up" education, both as regards content and method. The weakness of many of the pedagogical devices for making teaching appealing has been that they defeat the very ends of education by vitiating its content.

Creative education seeks its motivation in the pull from in front—from a sense on the part of the learner of the intrinsic worth of the thing itself. Its processes are real to the learner because they are concerned with the going experience in which he finds himself. They are weighted with a sense of worth because they deal with the fundamental issues that are vital to his own life and the life of the group. They are directly concerned with his own self-realization. In and by them he lives and moves and has his being.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT MOTIVES

From this approach much light is thrown upon motives by discriminating between direct and indirect motives. A direct motive arises from an immediate and un-derived interest in the end itself. An indirect motive, on the other hand, arises from an interest which attaches to a means that is necessary to the desired end. Thus a child may be interested in becoming, let us say, a skilful pianist. This is a direct interest. But between the child in his present state and his accomplishments as a pianist lie a knowledge of the theory of music and the technical skills that are necessary to the mastery of the instrument. These are indirect interests. The child is not at first directly interested in a study of musical theory or in exhausting hours of practice. His interest in these is only secondary—in order that he may become a skilful pianist. If viewed as ends in themselves, in isolation from the end with reference to which they are means, they would be repellent. But when seen in their genetic relationship to the end they are willingly, evenly gladly accepted.

We have here a concrete illustration of the transfer of

values from ends to means discussed in the preceding chapter. The sense of value that attaches to the desired end is now shared with the intervening means. This transfer is to be observed in the numberless activities of the daily routine of living, such as washing dishes, shaving, dieting, conducting research investigations, submitting to the inconveniences of travel, polishing one's kit of tools, doing one's daily dozen. The relative worth of means always is relative to the worth of the ends which they serve. It is only when means become detached from the ends which they serve that they lose their grip upon the will.

It is at this point that we come upon an interesting negative result of "sugar-coating" learning by giving external rewards or by appealing to fear of punishment. In this case the means is set up in place of the end, and the proper end of education is relegated to the place of a means. Under a system of rewards, children do not learn because of a sense of worth in the thing learned, but because they are interested in the reward. Learning the mathematical operations or being honest is a means to the real end, the reward. This constitutes a detour in education and has, as will readily be seen, the total effect of entirely reversing the educative process.

It is clear, therefore, that the technique for motivating those steps in learning that are not ends in themselves, but the necessary means to ends, is to place them in their proper setting of means to ends so that the child will see this relationship and feel their reality and worth. The danger in dealing with all such means, whether they be the multiplication table, practice of skills, or inhibition of impulses, is that they shall get detached and be dealt with in isolation from their context of experience. The educa-

tor must see to it that in the mind of the child that context is unbroken.

ANTICIPATING EXPERIENCE

These considerations raise a nice problem of some difficulty in educational technique. Is it ever justifiable to anticipate experience by dealing with situations before they are normal and real in the experience of growing persons? Or should education wait for the teaching of every specific item until there is a felt need for it in the present experience of the child? The educator out of a greater maturity and a much wider range of experience is able to foresee the trends of experience. In this wider comprehension, he is able to see certain bodies of knowledge and certain skills that the immature person will certainly need later on but of which the learner in his present situation cannot possibly have any adequate, even if remote, comprehension. Is it safe to defer these learnings until the felt need arises? Or would the relatively much more rapid learning in the presence of felt need compensate for the delay until the need is felt?

In regard to this problem three comments seem to be justified by a consistent theory, subject to actual experimentation. The first is that the conditions should be very extraordinary in order to justify the anticipation of experience. Other things being equal, things are best learned when they are motivated by felt need. The second is that except in the most remote instances, it will be possible to utilize the technique suggested in the foregoing paragraph, of setting these items in the context of a wider experience so that the child can perceive that they are means toward ends, through the utilization of indirect interest. The third

is that in moral education probably the only exceptions to the basic procedure of dealing with issues as they arise in current experience should be in case of experiences which involve considerable risk, such as sex experimentation and suicide. And even in these hazardous instances, probably the most constructive approach to their solution is through building up in connection with other experiences standards and sets of values and organized purposes which may be trusted to guide the learner and sustain him when these issues do arise in actual experience. It is an open question whether there are not a number of situations which may be dealt with quite as constructively in this indirect way as in a more direct manner.

A LEFT-OVER PROBLEM

We are now in a position to consider the problem which has always been asked by the traditional techniques of education: How can we get children and young people to do what they know they ought to do but which they do not want to do?

In the light of the foregoing discussion it would appear that this problem is a hang-over of education conceived as instruction or as training in adult knowledge, traits, and habits. This problem remains just because the content and procedure of learning is chiefly an affair of adult initiative, judging, purposing, and executing. Learning does not spring out of the experience of the learner and is not concerned with the issues which he is facing or the satisfaction of his forthreaching desires. Learning under these conditions remains external to the child. Consequently, the incentive for learning must be some *vis a tergo*, a "drive."

On the other hand, when learning is an affair of the growing self, when it is the outgrowth of his own dynamic impulses, when it has to do with the real issues which he is facing and is directed toward ends which are of felt worth to him, this problem, like the problem of discipline, tends to disappear. In fact, as was pointed out in chapter xi, most of the problems of discipline arise directly out of the externality of learning and from forcing the child to do what he neither knows he ought to do nor wants to do. The reason he does not want to do it, granting that the adult is right in judging that he ought to do it, is because he has no sense of the worth of doing it. A deeper analysis would probably disclose the fact that he does not know (in the sense of realizing) that he ought to do it. His saying that he ought to do it is probably a parrot-like repetition of the "learning" of abstract ideas and principles that have no reality or conviction for him. On the whole it may be said that if he is truly convinced that he "ought" to do it by his own critical thinking and evaluation he will "want" to do it. The fact that others have thought, chosen, and purposed *for* him is a wholly sufficient reason for its having no gripping reality for him.

The reason for this is perfectly clear when we recall the fact, elaborated in chapter xii, that the psychological situation of delayed response involving a problem and an issue that gives rise to reflective, critical thinking is the same psychological situation that gives rise to appreciation and a sense of value in the end sought. Thus it turns out that critical thinking and valuation are simply different aspects of the same undifferentiated process of achieving ends that are felt by the achieving person to be worthful to him. Both intellectual conviction and moti-

vation from a sense of value have their genesis in a going, dynamic, creative experience.

So that when learning is directly related to life, when it is a conscious interpretation, enrichment, and inner control of the learner's own experience, the problem of motivation, like the problem of discipline, tends to disappear. It is no longer, How can we get the child to want to do what he knows he ought to do but what he does not want to do? but, How can we help the learner to discover the vital issues of his own experience, how to understand these issues, how to discover the values that are resident and in process of creation in them, and how to organize his intelligence and appreciations for the achievement of the living and worthwhile ends that grip him and release his utmost sustained effort? Where such guided enterprises in real life are under way children and young people find zest and joy in learning as achievement. Learning begun and guided in the school into fruitful channels continues through life as an enriching, releasing, and creative experience. The fruitful way to the motivation of learning is not through the invention of clever devices to make the traditional content and procedure of education as instruction and training acceptable to pupils; it is through the reconstruction of the process itself into a vital, meaningful, and achieving experience.

CREATIVE EXPERIENCE GENERATES ITS OWN MOTIVATION

By such considerations as these we arrive at the understanding, relatively new in the history of educational technique, that education as initiation into a creative personal and social experience generates its own motiva-

tion. When education is organized in the direction of discovering the values that are resident in current experience and of organizing the growing person's resources for their achievement as the highest good in life, there is no longer need for external incentives. Knowledge and understanding are, under these conditions, inseparably related to appreciation. When thinking and valuing are generated together in the matrix of problematical situations involving the fundamental issues of living, they stand midway between an active experience and the will to be and to achieve. Under these conditions there can be no split between understanding and desire. Both are fused into intelligent purpose.

When learning and its issue in conduct are organized around emergent values, they become achievement. And when they become achievement, they take on the thrill of creative experiences. They yield satisfactions on the higher spiritual levels. Learning and achieving become zestful because the sources of the higher satisfactions are being discovered—sources that give meaning and worth to life itself. Education becomes opportunity.

It is at this level of creativity and achievement in the realm of values that education takes on its deepest moral and spiritual quality. The good life consists in the discovery of values in the entire range of personal and social experience, in the criticism of these values, and in their organization into a consistent and stable core of behavior. The good life is essentially a radical experiment with the possibility of life in terms of these values. It is more than passive appreciation. At its best, it is of the essence of re-making, both of human nature itself and of the Great Society.

So that, whatever incentives education as an external process may elect to use, whether they be the irrational drives of original nature, the various forms of social pressure, or a system of rewards and punishments, education for moral and spiritual personality must generate its own motivation in values that are in process of discovery and realization in actual experience.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGION AND CHARACTER

Through a consideration of the place of integration, appreciation, and motivation in the achievement of moral and spiritual personality the educator comes directly upon one of the most fundamental problems in character education: the relation of religion to character. Shall he consider that an experience that has acquired the qualities of intelligence, sociality, aesthetic appreciation, and ethical discrimination is adequate for the achievement of the good life on the part of self-realizing persons? Or is there still a further quality of experience that falls within the realm of religion that is necessary for the attainment of the highest and most effective type of personality?

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF RELIGION

The answer to this problem depends, of course, upon the ways in which education itself is conceived and upon one's understanding of the nature and function of religion. The foregoing discussion has been devoted to the elaboration of a conception of education as the self-realization of persons through a creative experience. Under analysis the chief resources of human experience for this achievement, at least at the creative level, have been found to be the capacity of persons for an intelligent dealing with the facts of life and the capacity for the discovery, organization, and achievement of values. In the light of that analysis, it now remains to inquire what contributions religion

has to make to this process of self-realization through creative experience.

The scientific study of religion.—For any adequate understanding of religion the educator will turn, not to popular and traditional notions about religion, but to what the scientist, whether anthropologist, historian, sociologist, psychologist, or scientific theologian, has to say about religion.

These investigators, using the techniques of the scientific method described in chapter ii, tend to see in religion, not a perfected system of beliefs, ritualistic practices, and institutional structures *invading* human experience from some external and authoritative source, but as growing up, like all other organized systems of ideas, practices, and institutions, *within* human experience and changing from moment to moment as the content and pattern of that experience change. They see in religion one aspect of man's response to his world. One of the most competent students of human culture has characterized religion as "man's oldest and most fundamental reaction to his world."¹ These scientific students see in religion a fundamental and irreducible aspect of human experience, as universal as the race and coextensive with its history. They see that religion's content of ideas, practices, and institutional forms differ as one passes from one social group to another and change from time to time within the same group as its practical activities and its culture change. But over and above historic change, religion remains as a permanent attitude of man toward his ever expanding universe and toward the meanings and values that it holds for him. What is this persistent attitude of

¹ Franklin H. Giddings, in an unpublished lecture.

man toward what to him is most real and meaningful in his world that survives the decay of historic faiths and the wreckage of ecclesiastical structures?

The scientific study of religion has developed three characteristic ways of viewing the nature and function of religion. One of these approaches conceives of religion in terms of intellectualistic formulations—of beliefs. From this point of view religion is thought of as consisting of a body of systematized absolute truth, generally as supernaturally revealed. It is conceived also as a body of thought having for its object a self-conscious and intelligent Being. Or, as in the case of Spencer, for whom the whole of reality could not be reduced to conceptual terms, the reaction was to “the unknowable.” In any case, the approach to the understanding of religion is through conceptual thinking.¹

A second approach to the understanding of religion is in terms of the emotions. From this point of view religion is neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling. It consists primarily of a sense of dependence with respect to universal being, a reverential disposition usually thought of as an attitude of piety, or certain emotional experiences such as are involved in conversion.²

The viewpoint that dominates the current approach to the understanding of religion is voluntaristic. From this point of view, religion is one of the aspects of man's

¹ As representative of this view, cf., e.g., Hegel, *Philosophy of Religion* (Speirs and Sanderson translation), I, 90; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 424; Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. III, Part IV, chap. i; Vol. I, pp. 251 ff.; and G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 41.

² As representative of this view, cf., e.g., Auguste Sabatier, *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 21; Schleiermacher, *The Nature of Religion*, pp. 29, 57 ff.; and C. P. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, II, 198 f.

adjustment to his total environment. It is the highest expression of the will to live—to have life and to have it abundantly. The basic aspect of this adjustment process is the outreach of persons and groups toward the worthwhile ends by which men live. It is the highest aspect of the struggle for life. Religion thus becomes an attitude toward the environing reality which involves a sense of dependence upon it; an attempt to derive help from it through the establishment of personal relations with it; and the utilization of social experience, culture, organization, and customs in the attempt to lay hold upon these resources. It assumes an attitude of profound seriousness toward this reality as a Determiner of Destiny. In its higher and more adventurous forms, this drive toward more abundant living assumes the aspect of a radical experimentation with the unrealized possibilities of life.¹

Religion as the revaluation of values.—Clearly, when religion is conceived of as the outreach of self-realizing persons and groups toward a more abundant life, we are in the realm of values. This was clearly seen by such thinkers as Professor Höffding in the early years of the present century.² Since that time the unmistakable trend has been to see in religion a valuational attitude which persons and groups assume toward their environing world. Much of the thinking of the subsequent period has been devoted to the discovery of the differentia that make it

¹ As representative of this view, cf., e.g., Shailer Mathews, article on "Religion" in the *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics; Man and His World*, Vol. VII, edited by Baker Brownell, pp. 37 ff.; James B. Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness*, pp. 2 f.; Henry N. Wieman, symposium on "The Definition of Religion," *Journal of Religion*, May, 1927; Edward S. Ames, *Religion*.

² *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 107, 215.

possible to identify the religious among other aspects of the valuational attitude. Some investigators, like Professor Ames¹ and Professor King,² have seen in religion the intensification of the social values. Other investigators, like Professor Durkheim,³ have completely identified religion with the essential life of the social group.

It may be said, however, that the general trend of psychological thought within the present century has been in the direction of seeing in religion the revaluation of all values whatsoever.⁴ Through this process of revaluation all the values of life are unified, completed, idealized, and conserved. It is in this integration of all the more or less specialized values into a total meaning and worth of life in terms of its relation to the whole of reality that the quality which differentiates the religious from the other aspects of the valuational experience is to be found.

Religion is vastly more than the summation of all the more or less particularized values. Through the process of revaluation a new and unique quality emerges within the religious aspect of experience that is not to be found in its disparate sets of values. It is at this point of fusion that for most religious persons God appears in human experience, not as something extraneously invading that experience from some "supernatural" source as distinguished from the "natural," but as the most fundamental reality of our world moving creatively within that experience. In the light of this fact of God, personal and social values

¹ *The Psychology of Religious Experience.*

² *The Development of Religion.*

³ *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.*

⁴ Perhaps the most complete formulation of this idea has been made by Professor George A. Coe in his *Psychology of Religion*, especially chap. iv.

become intensified, are subjected to the most searching criticism, and are set in their vast framework of universal and eternal relations in a personality-producing universe. As far as is possible in an open and dynamic universe, values assume what approaches ultimate worth. The ends and means of life undergo spiritualization and selection. In this setting not only do the economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical aspects of experience undergo reassessment and reconstruction, but life itself, both in its personal and cosmic aspects, takes on a fundamental meaning and worth. So that, through this revaluational process, experience at the religious level assumes a dynamic and reconstructive function. Experience in a unique sense becomes creative.

Religion thus assumes a twofold function. On the one hand, the religious attitude makes it possible for persons and groups to represent to themselves through the symbols and practices of a religion the total meaning and worth of reality in its cosmic aspects. This is the function of appreciation. On the other hand, it offers a technique for the control of these cosmic resources in furthering the worthwhile ends of living, by laying hold upon forces beyond immediate human resources. This is the function of utilization.

The formulation of a concept of religion in terms of the revaluation of values is an attempt to arrive at a functional concept of religion in its universal aspects. In this way the formula of revaluation becomes a kind of algebraic symbol which sets forth the fundamental and irreducible nature of religion and which is applicable to any religion. As a formula, however, it does not, and by its very nature cannot, *describe* religious behavior in its con-

crete aspects. When one attempts to describe religious behavior, he finds himself dealing with the concrete and specific content of a particular religion, be it Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Mohammedan, or Shinto. As in the case of honesty, persons and groups are not religious in a general and abstract way, but in specific and concrete ways, in terms of the specific content, for the most part, of a particular system of religious beliefs, attitudes, and practices. In this way a specific religion becomes a technique by which persons and groups represent to themselves the total meaning and worth of reality in its cosmic aspects and by which they seek to utilize its cosmic resources for the furthering of the valued ends of living.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE THE SOURCE OF THE
CONTENT OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND PRACTICES

The content and pattern of religious ideas and practices derive from the practical life of the group.—From this analysis by the psychologist it is clear that the content and pattern of religious ideas and practices derive directly from the total experience of the group, involving the economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical aspects of that experience. Each of these areas of experience feeds its particular contribution to the content of religious ideology and practice into the central area where the fusion of all values takes place. The characteristically religious quality of experience lies in the integration of the values that are resident in all these more or less specialized activities in terms of the total meaning and worth of life and in the cosmic reference that is given to them. Religion is, therefore, not to be held responsible for the general content and pattern of the religious ideas and

practices of a person or group. These derive directly from the supporting practical activities and interests of the person or group. The validity of religion does not rest, consequently, upon the correctness or permanence of this content or this pattern. The aspect of that experience which *is* distinctively religious and for which religion *is* responsible is the integration of the values that are resident in these more or less disparate areas of activity and interest into a total meaning and worth of life in terms of its relation to God. Much of the confusion that has arisen concerning the nature and function of religion could be avoided if this discrimination between content and reference were kept in mind. When one clearly perceives this difference, he is not disturbed when certain religious concepts and practices become obsolete and untenable. This does not mean that religion is a waning factor in human experience. It does mean that its content and pattern are changing with the changing experience of the group. But religion as the revaluation of all values persists as a permanent attitude beyond and above all change. The categories of religion change because the supporting practical experience changes. But religion as revaluation is as abiding as experience itself.

Differences in religions due to differences in group experience.—This conclusion based upon psychological analysis is abundantly confirmed by the history of religion. A cursory survey of religion in its comparative aspects discloses the fact that there are many different types of religion, each with its characteristic set of beliefs, practices, and institutions, such as the religion of primitive men, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity. Moreover,

these religions have sprung up within identifiable habitats and within certain cultural mediums. Why is it that these religions differ as one passes from group to group? The answer is that they have their rootage in the differing economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical experiences of these groups. Thus the kindly, free, and indefinite religion of the Egyptians was due to the fertility of the Nile Valley, the long and narrow character of the habitat with its relatively incoherent social life, and the relative security of the Egyptians from invasion and the regimentations that follow conquest. On the other hand, the definite, rigid, and authoritative religion of the Assyrians is accounted for by the exposure of the Mesopotamian Plain to a succession of migrations and conquests. The place-names of that war-swept terrain are saturated with blood. The history of its religion is the history of the superimposition of the religion of the conqueror upon the older religion of the conquered. Among the Todas of India the buffalo, upon whose milk they depend as the chief source of their food supply, is a sacred animal, and milking approximates a religious ceremony. The Tshi-speaking Negroes of the African Gold Coast have an extremely incoherent social organization, and their religious ideas and practices correspondingly consist of unrelated beliefs and rituals, as is the case with the Kafirs of East Africa. In no religion is this correlation between religious belief and practice and the supporting practical life greater than in Judaism and Christianity.

Changes in religious ideas and practices due to changes in group experience.—To the student of the history of religion the changes that take place from time to time within the same group are no less striking than the differ-

ences that exist among the religions of various groups. The comparative study of religion has for the most part given way to a study of the history of religion. In any group with a developing social history it is impossible to give a description of the religion of that group that will be valid for its entire history. Religion in each of these social groups is a *process* undergoing continuous change as the supporting practical experience of the group changes. Thus, among the Greeks it is necessary to take account of the religion of early Greece during the period that immediately followed the Hellenic migrations into Mycenaean culture, of the age of colonization with its importation of the mystery cults from Asia Minor and the rise of the Ionian philosophy, and of the later Greek period following the Peloponnesian War with its higher religion developed by the poets and the philosophers. In Egypt the earliest religion was organized around the nomes that were related only by their position on the Nile much as beads are related when strung on a strand, with no organic unity. Each of these nomes had its local deity and a corresponding body of religious belief and practice. With the economic and social development of the Nile Valley, however, these local kingdoms declined and there was an integration of the local communities into the Upper and Lower Kingdoms, each with its system of religious beliefs and practices. With the integration of the entire Nile Valley into one community more or less homogeneous under the influence of economic and social factors, the empire emerged with Amon-Re as the national deity and the attempt to establish an absolute solar monotheism under Amenhotep IV. Similarly, if one would secure any insight into the religion of India he must see it as a many-

sided development taking place within a changing culture, from the religious beliefs and practices of the Rig-Veda of the period following the superimposition of the Aryan upon the primitive Dravidian culture, through the emergence of the Brahmanic speculations and rituals and the rise and development of Buddhism, to the philosophical systems of the Vedanta and the Sankhya and atheistic materialism.

In a similar manner each historic religion could be listed as illustrative of the fact that the religious ideas and practices of a given social group undergo change, often of the most fundamental character, in the course of its historical development. But however the content and pattern of these ideas and practices may differ from group to group and from one period to another, the significant underlying fact is that these changes are unintelligible apart from their relation to the changing economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical values that are resident in the changing experience of these culture groups.

This process illustrated in the religion of Israel.—For the purpose of magnifying this factor and rendering it more concrete it may be well, as the author has done elsewhere,¹ to trace this development in greater detail in one religion. The religion of Israel is chosen from among any number that might be selected because a relatively unbroken record is preserved in the literature of the Old Testament and because of the part it has played in Western civilization as the antecedent of the Christian religion. The history of religion affords no more striking illustration of the manner in which the content and pattern of reli-

¹ "The Significance for Religious Education of Trends in the Psychology of Religion," *Religious Education*, January, 1928.

gious ideas and practices are determined by the supporting practical life of a people.

The history of Israel may be roughly divided into the nomadic period, the period of migration and conquest, the period of settlement upon the land and of nation-building, the period of international conflict, and the period of national decline. Each of these periods is accompanied by its characteristic historical change in the content and practice of the religion of Israel.

In the nomadic period the Hebrews were passing through all but the most primitive form of social organization. This social organization was on the patronymic level of tribal, or kinship, culture, but slightly advanced over the still more primitive metronymic level. The social bond was that of blood kinship within a relatively small group. They were in the pastoral stage of culture, wandering from pasture to pasture in search of sustenance for their flocks. During this period their religion was henotheistic. They thought of Jahwe as the God of the local kinship group who changed his residence as the group migrated from pastureland to pastureland. Such ceremonies as the Pascal feast and the libation of water had their origin in this Bedouin life in the desert. Their religion, like their economic life, their culture, and their morals, was tribal.

When the Hebrews entered upon the period of migration and conquest during which they occupied and subdued Canaan as their permanent national habitat, their religious beliefs and practices underwent profound changes. Such a period is always militaristic. As a consequence, they developed a thoroughly militaristic conception of Jahwe. He became to them "Jahwe of Hosts," the God of battle.

In his name they went forth to conquer, carrying the ark as the symbol of his presence in the midst of the embattled armies. They ascribe to him commands to destroy with utter ruthlessness whole populations, or to enslave the males and to take the females as concubines. Many of the imprecatory psalms are reverberations of this militaristic conception of Jahwe.

When, after the dispossession of the Canaanitish inhabitants, the Hebrews settled down to the task of nation-building in a permanent habitat, they codified their laws, evolved their permanent national institutions, and developed their cultus. In this period Jahwe is conceived of as a lawgiver, and they ascribe their laws to him as divine commands, as they do the structure of their national institutions. Moreover, this period is strikingly illustrative of the syncretizing stage in the development of national religion in which conquest is involved. During the preceding periods Jahwe had been in turn a pastoral God and a militaristic God of conquering armies. But with the settlement of the nation upon the land their culture passed into the agricultural stage. This was a new rôle for Jahwe. It had previously been the function of the Baalim of the Canaanites to preside over the growing grain and vineyards. What happened in the Hebrew religion was that which has always happened when a conquering people has taken over the functions and the religion of a dispossessed people. Jahwe absorbed the functions of the Baalim and became the God of the cultivated fields and vineyards. This assimilation is celebrated in Psalm 65 in which Jahwe is worshipped as the God of the softened furrows and the growing grain. And, interestingly enough, this very psalm which celebrates the new function

of Jahwe contains also a reverberation of the militaristic period and of the militaristic function. An agricultural régime is a régime of peace. So in this psalm is this interesting note: "Who stilleth . . . the tumult of the peoples." In other psalms of the settled period Jahwe "maketh wars to cease"; he "burneth the chariots in the fire and breaketh the bow asunder." As was to be expected, there was great opposition to this syncretism. This period developed its "fundamentalists" in the Nazarites and the Rechabites. It is practically impossible to understand the conflict of this period between the worshipers of Jahwe and the worshipers of Baal, except in the light of the assimilation of the agricultural functions of the indigenous deities who had been dispossessed.

In the same way the period of international conflict became the period of greatest reflective thought and spiritual insight in the Hebrew religion. The Hebrews found themselves a small and defenseless nation situated between the two great world-powers—Egypt, now decadent, on the south, and Assyria now ascendent, on the north. During this period of international conflict and adjustment, Israel found its career set on a world-stage. These conflicts on such a vast theater led to reflection of the most self-conscious and penetrating sort on the part of the Hebrews and to a revaluation of their whole experience as a national and cultural group. This was the age of the great writing prophets—Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah, and the great Isaiahs. In this setting the provincial and tribal conceptions of Jahwe were utterly inadequate. Under the influence of these expanding experiences Jahwe became universalized, spiritualized, and ethicized. Jahwe became to them the only true and living God, a God of

ethical goodness and of infinite and tender compassion who found some of his lofty qualities embodied in his "Suffering Servant."

The meaning of the final act in this national drama is equally obvious. With the collapse of the national political structure, of the national institutions, and of the national cultus, the individual for the first time emerged in clear relief as a person standing in individual and responsible relations to God. It was psychologically impossible for the note of individualism to emerge while the national structures were intact under the conditions of a relatively primitive culture. It was just as inevitable that it should become articulate in the sermons of Jeremiah in the moment of national disintegration.¹

The same process is operative in contemporary life.—Now these same processes of change in religious thinking and practice are going on in Western civilization in our contemporaneous twentieth-century life. In a prescientific period Christian theology thought of our world as static, and therefore it thought of creation as having been accomplished through fiat. Modern science, however, has demonstrated that our universe is a *process*, continuing through vast extensions of time. As a result, Christian belief has struggled with the concept of evolution, at first to antagonize it but ultimately to incorporate it into a growing conception of God as creatively working in and through the process of evolution through unimaginable reaches of time. As a result of the same process, the modern Christian has come to think of creation as still in proc-

¹ For an excellent summary of this process in the development of the religion of Israel, cf. article on "Religion of Israel," by E. Kautzsch, *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume.

ess, with unimaginable possibilities still in store for the human race.

The same sort of result has come about through the vast spatial extension of the modern Christian's conception of God. The telescope has revealed magnitudes of distance in our physical universe undreamed of in the faith of our fathers. The comfortable concept of God at home in a small geocentric, or even heliocentric, universe is utterly inadequate for thinking of God at home in the incalculable spatial distances of our scientific universe. In the opposite direction, the discoveries of the microscope have revealed a world of the infinitesimally small of which our fathers in the faith had no intimation and for which a concept of God with a capacity for infinite detail is necessary.

The whole scientific concept of sequences in the events of our experience with our universe, which can be reduced to formulas in terms of "laws," is resulting in a concept of God who does not lightly set aside the ordered processes of our world for private interests, thus jeopardizing the integrity of the entire structure of a universe that can be depended upon, but who works in reverence for these laws as the very foundations upon which an orderly universe rests.

In the same manner the backgrounds of our practical industrial life have given us a concept of God who does not from some remote aloofness view with impassive indifference the aspirations and struggles of men, but who himself is active and creative and who admits us to fellowship with him in the creative work of the world. On a larger scale than the human mind can comprehend, men

of the modern world see God at work at his unfinished creative task.

So also the democratization of our modern life is bringing God nearer to us and making him more real as the Supreme Member of the group, sustaining personal relations with men and sharing his purpose with them. In some such relation as this, prayer takes on a new and more vital meaning as associated desire and effort in the creation and realization of the higher spiritual values that support human living.

In the same way one might tarry over the results of modern physics with its dissolution of what once appeared so obviously to be matter as set off against spirit, into vortexes of energy with vast interstices of unoccupied space. Already the implications of these results for a spiritual and religious conception of reality are being pointed out by the scientist.¹ These findings cannot fail to affect our way of thinking of religion and of God as resident within the processes of a spiritual universe rather than as having transcendental relations with it through invading it on occasion from some distant and sharply set-off realm of the "supernatural."

Far from eliminating the concept of God from the modern mind, the operation of such fundamental factors in the supporting backgrounds of our modern economic, social, and intellectual life render utterly inadequate the small and provincial conceptions of God that functioned in a simpler and more naïve world, and call for the expansion and spiritualization of the concept to fit the infinitely larger, more complex, more detailed, and more meaning-

¹ Cf., e.g., Michael Pupin's *The New Reformation* and A. S. Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World*.

ful world into which our modern experience has introduced us.

This process operative in personal experience.—Now what one sees so clearly when religion is viewed on this larger field of history is precisely what comes to pass in the experience of every person on a less extended scale. The content and pattern of such religious ideas and practices as he possesses are derived directly from the fundamental interests, activities, and values of his own experience. These ideas, and practices will, of course, never be wholly personal since he derives them in large measure, as he derives his language, his morals, and his cultural ideals, from the group of which he is a member. But they will come to reality for him within the range of his own experience within his group.

THE RECONSTRUCTIVE FUNCTION OF RELIGION

If religion integrates all the specialized interests and activities of the practical life of persons and groups through a revaluation of the more or less disparate values that are resident in these practical interests and activities, religion, in turn, subjects each of these specialized interests and activities to a powerful reconstructive influence.

The subjection of every experience to the criticism of all values.—The reconstructive influence of religion in any given area of experience is brought about in two ways. The first of these is the subjection of any given area of experience to the play of the criticism of the values in every other area of experience.

A concrete illustration taken from the field of economic experience will make clear this play of the entire

range of specialized sets of values upon a given field of experience. We have, let us say, an economic process involved in production under our present industrial system—a large-scale manufacturing plant under high-powered and competent management. When religion has the effect of bringing this factory process into conscious relation with the whole range of personal and social values, each set of values—intellectual, social, ethical, and aesthetic—plays its criticism upon the factory situation to modify it. The intellectual area of experience feeds back into the economic experience the intelligence that is involved in the science of economics. Science contributes the ideational structure of the economic process and furnishes it with its techniques. As a mere matter of economic science, excessive speeding will be eliminated, as will also undue hours, exposed machinery, and unsanitary conditions in the plant because they in the long run slow up the maximum productivity of the plant and unnecessarily burden the productive process with waste. In this way, through the play of the intellectual values upon the economic process, a crude manufacturing process motivated by desire for profit in isolation from all other values is transformed into an intelligent, precise, and efficient process of production.

Simultaneously, however, the criticism of social values plays upon the factory. As a result of the criticism of the social values, the factory is placed in its proper social setting. Its primary function is seen to be to serve the needs of society. Profits are then viewed in their social setting as just returns for services actually rendered in the service of human wants. Moreover, when social values are brought to bear upon the factory, the plant is seen, not as an aggregation of high-powered machines tended by

human automatons, but as a group of human beings with aspirations and wants engaged in the skilful use of machinery in the production of goods for the satisfaction of other human beings. Under the impact of the criticism of social values the question is asked, What effect does this factory have upon the human beings involved in its processes and upon society in general? rather than simply, How much profit does the plant yield? Under the criticism of social values, industry is humanized.

So also when the ethical values bring their criticism to play upon the factory. When the operation of the factory has been lifted to a social level, it has already been brought within the range of the criticism of ethical values. Processes, as well as ends, are now criticized in the light of their ethical quality when judged by their consequences upon self-realizing persons and upon the integrity and well-being of the Great Society. Processes which might have been approved when judged in isolation from other considerations now become impossible on ethical grounds.

So also with reference to the reconstructive criticism of aesthetic values. When the factory process is judged in the light of the aesthetic values it is no longer sufficient that manufactured articles should be useful; they must also be beautiful. A repulsive plant dominating a slum district in which its employees live in squalor now receives architectural treatment and is set within a framework of landscaping that gives beauty and joy to those who find in it opportunities for creative and satisfying labor. And, not content with leaving the laborer with the unequal burden of availing himself of the sources of culture, the factory builds into its program of activities opportunities for cultural satisfaction in art, music, and recreation.

In this way, by converging the various sets of value

upon the economic process, religion gives to the economic process a new significance that comes from judging it in its relation to the entire range of values—a significance which it could not possibly possess when judged in the light of its own particularized set of economic values. In a similar manner, it could be shown concretely how this play of the criticism of every other set of values is brought by religion to bear upon intellectual experience, social experience, aesthetic experience, and ethical experience.

The reconstructive influence of the fact of God.—But this play of the criticism of the various sets of particular values upon a given experience is only one aspect of the reconstructive influence of religion. Perhaps the most reconstructive influence of religion upon a given experience is the fact that religion lifts up the particular experience and gets it judged in the light of the whole of reality and of the sense of the total meaning and worth of life in terms of its relation to God. For, as was pointed out in an earlier paragraph, religion is not just the sum of particular values brought together in some sort of juxtaposition. At the point and in the process of fusion something creative takes place. A quality that does not inhere in any department of experience, or in the mere summation of all these departments of experience, emerges. Life takes on a new meaning, a new worth. It is seen whole and as a part of the whole. So unique and dynamic is the quality that attaches to experience at this point of fusion that the religious mind has throughout the history of the race reserved for it the most dynamic and heavily charged word in the human language—*God*. In the light of this glowing center of values an experience takes on its *n*th degree of significance. Here it is seen in a new perspective—the

perspective of our ultimate values and the perspective of eternity.

It is this dynamic and reconstructive function of religion that accounts for the fact that religion, at least in its higher forms, addresses itself to the remaking of human nature and of society. However crudely this function may be conceived in the terms of a conversion theology, the fact remains that the more advanced and spiritual religions address themselves directly to the rebirth of the individual on a higher scale of ultimate values and to the progressive reconstruction of the relations and functions of social living. This is certainly true of the Christianity of Western civilization, however imperfectly it has attained its primary objective in its historic career.

It will thus be seen that religion in its essential nature, while comprehending many levels from the conservation of traditional values to radical experimentation with the possibilities of life, is of the nature of creativity. If it be pointed out that religion has too frequently been conservative, it may be replied that that is due to the fact that it is organized around the traditional values. Even this type of conservation, at least at certain levels of social development, is in a genuine sense creative. But when religion is organized around the as-yet-unrealized values of human living, it becomes creative in the sense of discovering the values that are resident in current experience and in giving a powerful impulsion to human effort and aspiration in the direction of its projected ideals.

RELIGION A QUALITY OF ALL EXPERIENCE

Whether viewed from the standpoint of the integration of experience or from the standpoint of the recon-

struction of experience, it must be clear that religion is a quality of all experience. It is not a unique experience in that it is set off from the remainder of experience with its own specialized set of values. It is a quality that attaches, when it is present at all, to every aspect and area of experience. It is the integrating, comprehending aspect of experience in terms of its relation to the ultimate reality and worth of life. This is not to suggest that other types of experience and other sets of values are not integrating. It is impossible rigidly to set off any particular set of values so that there is no overlapping and interplay with other values. This is especially true of art. It is also true of all culture and ethics. But in a unique sense this is *the* quality of religion, which derives its substance from, and finds its field of function in, all the other sets of values by which men live.

This is just the danger that forever besets the practical expression of religion in practical experience. It tends to migrate from the glowing center of all values whatsoever to a neat and comfortable place as one of the departmentalized sets of value. Then it isolates its own set of values, elaborates its dogmas, sets up its cultus, and erects its institutional structures. When it is thus isolated and elaborated as a department of life, it fails to make a marked difference in the practical conduct of life through its essential functions of integration, criticism, and reconstruction of all values. Under these conditions religion becomes regimented, authoritative, formal, scribal, legalistic, and priestly. Losing contact with intelligence, it becomes pietistic. Losing contact with the practical concerns of economics and civic functions, it escapes into mysticism. Losing contact with social values, it forces

men into the molds of law and tradition. Losing contact with ethics, it becomes cruel and immoral, darkening its record with deeds that violate the most sacred rights of man. Losing contact with beauty, it becomes harsh, repressive, and distorting. In sum, when religion migrates from its rightful place at the center of values to a department of life, it becomes one of the most destructive factors in human experience, regimenting life, rotting its integrity, and blinding it to the possibilities of the uncreated future with obscurantism.

The field of the operation of religion, then, is in every area of personal and social life where the experience of self-realizing persons is under way. Wherever any experience of any sort whatsoever is seen and judged in its relation to the total meaning and worth of life in terms of its responsible relation to God, be it in the family, in industry, in vocation, in recreation, in intellectual pursuits, in aesthetic enjoyment, or in moral conduct, there experience takes on the religious quality. It will be seen, therefore, that religion affects the entire range of experience by which self-realizing persons achieve moral and spiritual personality.

THE FUNCTION OF RELIGION IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PERSONALITY

In the light of this analysis, it now remains to inquire as to the function of religion in the achievement of the type of personality which constitutes the good life.

Integration of personality.—It is clear from the nature of religion as the revaluation of values that one of its primary functions in the achievement of personality is the integration of the self. As was suggested in chapter x, the

integration of personality should be considered one of the primary objectives of education when it is oriented toward self-realizing persons rather than toward subject matter, traits, or habits. And as was there suggested, an emerging set of values that are transmuted through choices in concrete and specific situations into a dominant life-purpose is the core, not only of any effective integration of personality, but of character as a type of personality subjected to the criticism of approved values.

It is the function of religion to bring all the more or less specialized values involved in the economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral aspects of experience into such a unity that from this central vantage point life can be seen whole. Notwithstanding the overlapping and interdependence of these various specialized sets of values, they tend, on the whole, toward a centrifugal movement of experience. Life, especially under modern conditions, tends to fall apart into rather highly specialized interests and activities. It cannot be denied that in an age of highly developed specialization intelligence tends to go its own way without much regard to the social, aesthetic, or moral implications of its thinking. Well-intended social effort is too often lacking in intelligence. Art has always shown some sense of conflict with morals, though the highest art is always moral. Even morality has not infrequently shown a tendency toward dissociation from intelligent criticism of ends and means and the social implications of its legalistic codes. But, as we have seen, religion as an integrating and comprehending aspect of experience brings all these more or less disparate values together into a total meaning and worth of life and sets them in the framework of universal reality and of the eternal. It

subjects them to the unifying influence of the undifferentiated whole, of the immense, the subduing, and the inspiring meaning and worth of reality itself and of the destiny that in indescribable ways are comprehended within it.

The spiritualization of character.—In the light of the foregoing analysis, a second function of religion in the achievement of the good life is the spiritualization of character. If, as was pointed out in an earlier section of this chapter, one of the functions of religion is to integrate all the values of experience into a total meaning and worth of life, its other fundamental function is to reconstruct experience by subjecting it to criticism, not only of each specialized set of values, but of this higher set of values that inheres in this total meaning and worth of life when set in its universal and eternal relations.

In this way religion asks of each experience whether it is intelligent, whether it is practically effective, whether it is social, whether it is moral, and whether it is in keeping with the demands of beauty. In the play of this criticism of the various sets of values upon experience, experience is refined and spiritualized. For conscious and intelligent criticism moves in the direction of the higher values. Such a process of criticism and judging is highly selective. In the searching light of all these values, only those desires can survive which approve themselves before an increasingly enlightened and sensitive conscience.

But however refining and spiritualizing the criticism of these disparate values may be, the most spiritualizing influence of religion comes from holding the self and its experience up in the light of God who represents for the responsible self universal reality, the ultimate values, and the eternal. Here the various types of experience are

assessed in a new and different light. The heat and passion of primitive and immediate desires are cooled. A sense of destiny enters into one's choices. Desires are re-arranged in a hierarchy of desires in which the immediate, the material, and the self-regarding desires are subordinated to the universally valid, the spiritual, and the eternal values.

Emphasis upon ideal aspects of experience.—It is at this point that religion furthers the achievement of the good life through focusing attention upon the ideal aspects of experience—upon the as-yet-unrealized possibilities of personality. The spiritualization of life under the criticism and reconstructive influence of the higher values thrusts the growing self out upon the frontiers of personal and social achievement. One lives under the influence of the ideal aspects of experience—ideals of attainment that just elude his farthest grasp.

This gives a forward look and a dynamic quality to character. Its attention is focused, not so much upon traditional types of conduct as upon the creative aspects of personality. It proceeds in its efforts to achieve the good life, not so much by precedent as by discovery and experimentation. The essence of the good life, quite as much as of science or of any of the practical endeavors of our modern world, is creativeness. Our views of the good life are the results of countless centuries of experimenting with the possibilities of life. It would be a venturesome, if not a purblind, soul who would affirm that the possibilities of the good life have already been explored.

Such a forward-looking and dynamic quality of character is more than ever necessary under the increasingly complex and rapidly changing conditions of our modern

world. Morality has all too frequently sought its criteria of judging conduct among the codes that expressed the moral values of an age whose values were utterly different from the values of the age in which we live. This tendency is well illustrated by the all-too-common view that the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament furnish the basic standards for judging the good life. The Ten Commandments served their purpose very well in a primitive tribal society. But modern living demands a positive goodness, affirmative virtue, and a creatively good life. The creatively good life needs criteria for judging the relevancy of the higher values to the specific details of scientific, industrial, and democratic living in the modern world. We are in need, therefore, not only of norms of conduct that have been derived from the experience of the past, but of criteria for criticizing these norms and for judging their applicability to the new and baffling aspects of a complex and changing social experience.

Motivation.—These considerations lead us directly to a fourth function of religion in the achievement of character. This function lies in the field of motivation. When religion concerns itself with values, and in particular with the revaluation of values, it is in the realm of human desire. And here, as nowhere else in human experience, it touches the springs of conduct. Modern scientific psychology has abandoned the notion that if one knows what is right in a coldly intellectualistic fashion, he will do it. Inert ideas do not carry over into action.

It is in connection with motivation that the relation of religion to morality has generally been considered. Religion has traditionally been used as a sanction of moral conduct. But the traditional sanction of religion

has been located in its external constraint exercised largely through fear, on the one hand, or through reward, on the other. A prominent American educator recently expressed the opinion that what the young people of the present generation need in order to make them behave is "a good dose of old-fashioned hell." This makes of religion a *vis a tergo*, described in chapter xiii. On this basis the sanction of religion is external, authoritative, coercive.

This view of religion as an external sanction, of course, rests upon a complete misunderstanding of the nature and function of religion in its essential character. It is true that religion has been very effective as a sanction to conduct when used as a *vis a tergo*. But it is only effective temporarily and among the unsophisticated. As such it operates through fear and ignorance. Education as training may utilize it in an attempt to get persons to do what they know they ought to do but what they do not want to do. But it is a misguided use of religion in the modern world to employ it as an external and coercive sanction of the good life.

Since religion has to do with the desires of human beings by operating within their integrated and organized values, it furnishes an intrinsic motive, impelling from within. It unites desiring persons with valued ends. As intrinsic desire for valued ends it releases energy for the achievement of those ends. Man's wants are the springs of his action, the releasers of his effort. As such religion operates in human experience as a pull from in front, as the forthreaching of yearning and aspiring persons toward ends that they not only approve but upon which the fullness and satisfaction of their life depend. Its highest expression is the desire to become a certain sort of person.

Such a sanction arises from the discovery and realization of the higher values within experience itself.

Moreover, since religion operates within the revaluation of values, it gives effectiveness to motive by giving it unity and direction. In an infantile, unorganized, and undisciplined type of personality desires are much in conflict. Therefore, there are many motives impelling toward the satisfaction of wants that are inconsistent. As an integrating aspect of experience, as we have seen, religion brings unity into these immediate and conflicting desires by subjecting them to criticism, to some sort of organization, and to a consistent and creative urge in the direction of the higher and as-yet-unrealized values of ideal selfhood.

RELIGION A RESOURCE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CHARACTER

From these trends in the scientific understanding of the nature and function of religion, it appears that religion is a resource of incalculable value in assisting growing persons to achieve the good life. It is not sufficient that education for character shall carry its processes only to the economic, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical level. There is imperative need, in the interests of a unified and motivated personality, that these processes shall be integrated and that they shall be placed in a position to effect the reconstruction of the self and of the society in which it lives in the direction of the ultimate ideals which are in process of discovery and realization within the moving experience of persons and groups.

To this end religion needs to be understood, both in its nature and function, so that its resources may be made

available for character education. The practical processes by which religion may be made available for the purposes of character education in direct relation to the total educational experience of the child and youth without violating the principle of the separation of church and state is a problem too complex to be elaborated in this discussion. The problem of how to make religion available for character education under the conditions of American life lies partly in the field of a philosophy of education, partly in the field of technique, partly in the field of content, and partly in the field of organization. It must suffice for the present purpose to point out the available resources in religion for assisting the young to achieve the good life through the processes of creative experience.

CHAPTER XV

WORKING WITHIN THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN

It will now be possible in a way to bring together the things that have been said in the foregoing chapters and further to point out their educational implications by restating them in terms of their relations to the changing behavior pattern.

The clear implication of the present discussion throughout has been that any effective education for character will need to carry forward its work within the behavior pattern. Character as an intelligent, effective, and dependable way of life will result, not from talking about character, but from actual experience, under guidance, in living the good life. Moreover, this experience will take place not in artificially constructed situations, but realistically, in the actual situations which living presents to growing persons.

This view to which the implications of the assumptions in the foregoing chapters lead the educator is in keeping with the more recent trends in current scientific psychology. The unmistakable trend in psychology, particularly during the last decade, has been in the direction of concerning itself with overt behavior. In its earliest form, this trend expressed itself in a radical objectivism and mechanism, holding itself rigidly to the external aspects of describable and measurable behavior and excluding from its calculation consciousness, thinking, and purpose as merely concomitants of overt behavior but not as de-

terminants of it. More recent investigators, however, even those who would prefer to be thought of as thorough-going mechanists, have insisted upon taking into account consciousness, thinking, valuing, and purposing as determinative factors in behavior. But, whatever the basic body of assumptions from which he approaches the study of human activity, the psychologist is first and last primarily concerned with the conduct of persons as it issues in overt behavior.

Character education, even more than any other type of education, is concerned with the personal, social, and moral behavior of persons. Its primary concern is with conduct, and conduct is a certain type of behavior, whether approved or disapproved, either by the person himself or by the group of which he is a member.

CONDUCT A MATTER OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

Conduct, therefore, assumes the form of identifiable behavior patterns. When subjected to criticism and either approved or disapproved, these behavior patterns take on the qualities of moral character. The function of character education, then, becomes that of identifying the behavior patterns of growing persons, of subjecting these behavior patterns to the criticism of moral and spiritual values, and of helping growing persons to reconstruct their behavior patterns in the direction of personally and socially accepted values.

The trends of modern scientific psychology insist upon the futility of working with inert ideas in the attempt to achieve character. The assumption that for one to know in an isolated and intellectualistic way what one ought to do will lead him to do it no longer has the support of psy-

chology. Ideas in isolation from the going experience of persons or groups are inert. It can no longer be maintained that ideas tend to pass over into action. A technique of character education, therefore, that seeks to affect conduct through formal instruction in the virtues or traits of the good life is not justified in expecting large success. Objective tests show that abstract ideas about conduct have no appreciable influence upon conduct.

The trends in modern scientific psychology equally insist upon the futility of depending upon an automatic transfer of training from one concrete conduct situation to another. As was pointed out in chapter ix, the conditions under which transfer takes place are those in which there are common elements of content and procedure, in which the thing to be transferred is raised into consciousness, and in which there is a desire on the part of the learner that such a transfer should take place. The clear implications of these now well-established conditions of transfer are that character is formed in the actual situations which persons and groups face in the normal processes of day-by-day living. It means that insights, skills, values, and purposes must be developed within the going and meaningful experience of the person or group—in real, not artificial, situations.

All of this is in accord with the concept of personality set forth in chapter iii. Personality as here conceived is a more or less stable organization of physical elements, impulses, habits, ideas, ideals, and purposes, undergoing continuous change in a dynamic process. This more or less stable organization is the result of the process by which persons adjust themselves to their material and social world. This adjustment assumes the form of iden-

tifiable responses to identifiable situations. The function of character education, is, therefore, to secure a stable and dependable organization of these elements that constitute personality through the selective organization of these responses. This is a problem of behavior, and the effective approach to it is through the reconstruction of the behavior pattern.

This means that effective character education will best achieve its ends by working from beginning to end within the concrete experience of growing persons. It will begin with behavior patterns as it finds them in the going experience of persons. It will proceed by assisting growing persons to form some judgment about these patterns. It will assist persons to understand their experience and the factors of its control. On the basis of such a judgment and such an understanding, it will assist growing persons to reconstruct their behavior patterns from what they are into what, in the light of their emerging set of values, they desire them to be.

THE FULL CONTENT OF THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN

Only, as was pointed out in chapter x, for the purposes of character education through creative experience the behavior pattern must include its full content of factors.

The earliest tendency in dealing with the development of personality through the modification of the behavior pattern was on the basis of a radically objective and mechanistic behaviorism. From the point of view of this earlier approach, any attempt to modify the behavior pattern operated through the mechanism of the reflex. To this end consciousness was considered irrelevant. Think-

ing was a concomitant of laryngeal muscular movement. Purpose was an illusion. The behavior pattern was modified through the conditioning of the reflex by the manipulation of stimuli.

Character education through creative experience can never overlook or neglect these organic factors or mechanisms of the behavior pattern. Physiological health, the proper functioning of the glands, early conditionings, the formation of reactions into habits—all these have far-reaching significance for the achievement of character. It would be a short-sighted and narrow character education indeed that would ignore or undervalue them.

However, within the larger behavior trends in modern psychology, there is a distinct and growing tendency to enrich the content of the behavior pattern by the recognition of other than mechanistic factors. The later studies¹ have tended to show that the mechanism of behavior is such as to admit consciousness, reflective thinking, evaluation, and the forming of purposes as determinative factors into behavior. From the standpoint of creative experience these factors of reflective thinking, value judgments, and the formation and execution of purposes are of the greatest possible importance. They are of the essence of creativeness. Without them experience is predetermined, external, closed, and static.

When, therefore, it is suggested that creative experience should work within the behavior pattern, it is of the utmost importance to keep in mind that education is not to limit itself to the circumscribed and mechanistic resources of the radical behaviorist, but is to lay hold upon

¹ Cf., e.g., C. Judson Herrick, *Brains of Rats and Men*, and his later work, *The Thinking Machine*.

and to utilize the rich and full content of human behavior in its creative aspects of consciousness, reflective thinking, critical evaluation of ends and means, and the formation and execution of well-considered purposes.

CHANGING THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN

In summary of what has been written in the preceding chapters, it may be said that the technique of character education resolves itself into the technique of changing the behavior patterns of self-realizing persons.

Getting experience into consciousness.—The first step in that technique is to help the growing person to become aware of the significant experiences through which he is passing in his day-by-day adjustments to his material and social world. One of the ways for getting at this process is at the points of the outcroppings of experience in the form of specific and concrete events where identifiable responses are being made to identifiable situations. Many of these outcroppings involve the fundamental issues of living. By following out the leads and interconnections of these outcroppings of experiences it becomes possible, in time, to bring into view the entire range of the learner's experience and all the issues that are involved in it.

Once these experiences and their issues are located, it was seen in chapter viii that they take the form of identifiable responses to identifiable situations. The problem then is clearly set. It is this: How can the educator help the growing person to be aware of his responses, to form some judgment about them, and, in the light of such an appraisal, to change his responses from what they are into what he judges they ought to be?

Organic and social factors.—The main body of the fore-

going discussion has been devoted to an elaboration of the steps of this technique on the conscious, reflective, and purposive level. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that, as was suggested in the foregoing, the factors that lie below this creative level must not be overlooked or neglected. A behavior pattern may be profoundly affected by an organic factor, such as ill health, accident, or the abnormal functioning of the glands. One's whole rôle in his group may be changed by a physical deformity. The abnormal functioning of the thyroid gland may lead to hyperactivity, emotionalism, or cretinism. The first step in changing the behavior patterns in such cases is the correction of the physical defect. Similarly, an early emotional conditioning may have led to a very distinct distortion of a behavior pattern. In that case the facts need to be discovered and the issue faced realistically, so that the matter may be cleared up. Or, certain undesirable behavior patterns may have resulted from membership in a social group, so that the question of the rearrangement of group relationships may need to be undertaken. And so for all the factors that operate externally or at the unconscious level. Only it should be assumed that where the capacity, maturity, and experience of the person permit, the person himself should be made aware of these conditions so that he may face them intelligently and in accord with the best scientific knowledge regarding them and his own emerging set of values.

The technique of selective behavior.—The technique of changing behavior patterns on the level of creative experience is the technique of selective behavior. These steps may be recapitulated here in the light of their implications for the reconstruction of behavior patterns.

The first step in the technique of selective behavior, as we have seen, is analysis. This analysis has to do with the factors which are involved in a specific situation, so that it is not responded to *en masse*, but with discrimination with reference to the specific and relevant factors involved. It also has to do with the possible alternatives that are involved in the response, so that the response is seen, not as a jumble of elements, but as a group of identifiable possibilities of varying relevancy to differentiated factors in the situation and of varying significance to the ongoing experience of the self-realizing person.

A second step in selective behavior is the evaluation of different types of behavior. This evaluation takes the form of comparing behavior patterns, of weighing them in the light of their meaning and significance to persons and to society, of forming preferential judgments about them, and of choosing approved types in preference to others. From the standpoint of character as the achievement of a certain approved type of personality, this process of critical evaluation, especially when viewed in its setting of preferential attitudes and the making of choices, is the pivotal step in the reconstruction of behavior patterns. Such evaluation cannot be made without analysis, and its normal issue is an eager and forthreaching search after desired types of behavior that satisfy its ideals.

A third type is the utilization of social experience. In order to discover the facts necessary for understanding and control, the growing person draws upon the stored-up meanings of his own and the race's experience in dealing with similar situations. In order to form judgments about the worth and significance of the varying types of behavior, he consults the working standards and norms by

which society has judged the different modes of behavior to be desirable or undesirable in the light of their practicability and their long-time social consequences. These vary all the way from uncriticized mores to criticized moral standards sanctioned by positive group approval or disapproval. However, in selective behavior these working norms are held tentatively—as subject to revaluation in the light of the testing of new and changing social experience.

A fourth step in selective behavior is the gradual formation within the behavior patterns themselves of an organized, consistent, and directive life-purpose based upon the evaluation of types of behavior and supported by disciplined appreciations of what is good and beautiful and true in human experience. Only so can reconciliation be affected among conflicting impulses. Only so can disparate behavior patterns in concrete situations be woven into some elaborate, but consistent, whole pattern of life. Only so can drive and direction be given to experience in its cumulative movement toward personal and social self-realization.

A fifth step in selective behavior is experimentation. Experimentation is the incomparable method of science, both for discovery and verification. It is also incomparably the best technique for discovering the more fruitful ways of the good life and for validating them by the testing of practical experience. The behavior pattern is the experimental laboratory for the understanding and, above all, for the improvement of the good life. Here is to be found the stuff with which intelligence and purpose work. Here procedure becomes relevant and effective. Here, and here only, education comes to grips with the

concrete data of life in any realistic and practical way. Even if it were a matter of inculcating given and static virtues in a non-progressive culture, if there were to be any vital sense of reality and worth in these virtues they would still have to be mediated to the learner through his experience. But if the good life is to be conceived of as dynamic, as a continuous re-creation of personal and social virtue in terms of an expanding and increasingly complex world of experience, it is inescapable that it must grow up within the realistic conditions of concrete experience, through the discovery of the moral and spiritual values of life in that experience and through an effort to control life in terms of these supreme values. Any virtue can be validated only by trying it out with some degree of intelligence in the conduct of life. The more positive and dynamic virtues can be discovered only through some fearless venturing upon the untried ways of the unrealized possibilities of life in its ideal aspects. The good life is a practical process. And, as in all practical processes, one can verify his ideals only through the correction of experience.

WHOLE BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

What has been suggested in the foregoing discussion concerning the supreme importance of the integration of personality can now be restated in terms of the behavior pattern.

Since experience under analysis breaks down into unit patterns consisting of identifiable responses to identifiable situations, it would be quite possible to have an atomistic or crazy-quilt type of personality consisting of just more and yet more disparate behavior patterns having no organic relation to each other, no connecting tissue, and no

cumulative forward movement. As a matter of fact, this is just the phenomenon which many, if not most, personalities more or less present. The personalities that exhibit a close unity and a high degree of integration rise like lonely Alpine peaks upon the far-extending horizon of the mass.

In the interests of a coherent and effective personality, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that these unit patterns of behavior be integrated into one comprehensive and complex pattern to which the units are related as integral parts of a meaningful whole like the incidental and varied designs in a magnificent picture which in its wholeness presents a unity of design. Such a unity, however, is more than a unity of juxtaposition, such as one sees in a heap of sand or the chance design of a kaleidoscope. It is an organic design with a dominating and unifying motif—a connecting tissue of interrelatedness. Now, as a matter of fact, the problem of securing this integration is the problem of building up patiently through a long and cumulative experience a comprehensive behavior pattern that will include these smaller patterns in a consistent whole.

The problem of integration presents itself somewhat differently from the standpoint of the intellectual, the affective, and the voluntaristic aspects of experience. In the higher orders of personality, intelligence, the emotions, and conation are so completely interrelated as to be only different aspects of an undifferentiated process of achieving ends that are capable of bringing satisfaction. It is not infrequently the case, however, that intelligence gets split off from the emotions and the will, the emotions from intelligence and practical activity, and activity from

intelligence and the emotions. In the first unhappy event, the result is cold and harsh rationalism; in the second event, we have soft sentimentalism; in the third event, we have the practical go-getter type of personality. None of these types is pleasant to live with. Much less can a satisfactory society be built upon them. The soundness of selfhood and of society as well depends upon the interrelatedness of all these aspects in a personality that is at once keenly intelligent, warm and vibrant with emotion and appreciation, and effective in executive action.

But how shall this interrelatedness of intelligence, the emotions, and the executive will be achieved? The trend of modern psychology would suggest, through the integration of all these elements in a dynamic forthreaching experience that is moving toward the realization of worthwhile ends. This takes us back again directly to the behavior pattern in which self-realizing persons are responding to situations. It is the function of intelligence to give direction to experience, of the emotions to warm it with colorful *nuances*, and of the voluntary aspect to give it executive effectiveness. This integration of intelligence, the emotions, and action calls for balance, for proportion. Moreover, this balance is something more than a matter of the quality of small and disparate units of experience. It is an attitude, a quality, an arrangement that diffuses itself throughout the whole integrated behavior pattern of a whole self.

CHANGES IN THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN MUST INCLUDE BACKGROUNDS

It is of the utmost importance also for the educator to keep constantly in mind that the reconstruction of the behavior pattern must be closely correlated with the

economic, social, and intellectual backgrounds of the person.

The experience by which a person realizes himself, as we have frequently noted in the foregoing pages, is the result of the process by which he adjusts himself to his material and social world. The implication of this, of course, is that the integrity of the self is directly involved in all these relations and functions by which it is bound to its total world. The behavior pattern involves all these adjustments. Consequently, attempts to change specific aspects of the behavior pattern should have regard to the total behavior pattern. Radical and independent changes in specific details of the pattern without respect to the other aspects of the pattern may have the tragic effect of throwing the whole self out of adjustment. Maladjustment is always disastrous to personality, if persistent. The implication of this is that readjustment in any one detail of the behavior pattern should be accompanied by some form of appropriate adjustment in every other detail of the behavior pattern. Otherwise the pattern loses its integrity and a split personality results. Conflicts may be set up which will eventuate in personality disorganization. A reformation in conduct must involve the reformation of the whole self and its behavior pattern, involving its entire mode of thought, its attitudes and appreciations, and its purposes. If one would change the leopard's spots he must change the leopard.

CHANGES IN THE BEHAVIOR PATTERN SHOULD BE GRADUAL

And, finally, any attempt to reconstruct the behavior pattern should have regard for the continuity of experience. In the achievement of the good life continuity is as

fundamentally valuable as change. Continuity alone gives inertia to character. Change in isolation from continuity makes character radical, inconsistent, and unstable. An intelligent and effective self can be built upon neither continuity nor change in isolation from each other. What is pre-eminently desirable is the complete integration of continuity with change in a progressive realization of the good life.

Assuming that radical changes in conduct *can* be permanently effected—which is probably an unfounded assumption—the results of such radical changes, which constitute a sheer break with the past, are universally disastrous alike to personality and to social groups. Such sheer breaks result in radicalism in persons and cultures. The progressive persons and societies are those in which changes are gradual and continuous, and which result from small and interrelated changes in their behavior patterns.

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